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THE MANKIND QUARTERLY

— *mala opinio bene parta delectet* —

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ETHNOLOGICAL ELEMENTS OF AFRICA

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

PART I

In a preceding paper[1] an attempt was made to describe the ethnology, as it was readily perceptible by anthroposcopical methods, of the south-eastern Mediterranean, Egypt, the Nile Valley and the Sudan, and to discuss the racial developments of the area as they may be discerned from our prehistoric and historical knowledge. The present paper is a southward continuation of that study. The main interest for the writer is the drift of Caucasoid genes along the east coast of Africa, particularly in view of the known facts of the Ancient Egyptian influence in the land of Punt, the Phoenician trade with Africa, the Arab and Persian settlements in Africa from early in the Christian era onwards, and finally the arrival in Africa of Indian traders, certainly by about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

As all these stocks are Caucasoids—mainly of the Mediterranean race—their impact both on the culture and on the ethnology of Africa must have been, accumulatively, very considerable. In fact we know that this was the case, even if we consider only the impact of Egypt, whose technology must have been the principal source of African native metallurgy, and from whose ancient theology we know elements were borrowed by African peoples—indeed some believe that features of Egyptian theology reached the west coast of Africa by a process of slow percolation only two centuries or thereabouts ago.[2]

It is, therefore, reasonable to assume that in much the same way, following the Nile to its sources and extending inland from every landfall made on the coasts by Phoenicians and other Mediterranean, Arab, Persian and Indian traders, not only would cultural penetration take place but Caucasoid genes would come to be implanted in the native African matrix of tribes. This is, in fact, the only explanation for the high proportion of Caucasoid

[1] "Ethnological Elements of the South-Eastern Mediterranean and North-East Africa" by R. Gayre of Gayre, THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. V, No. 3, January-March 1965, pp. 161-174.

[2] *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* by Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, Faber and Faber, London, 1960.

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genes found in such tribes of southern Africa as the Zulu,[3] Venda, Lemba and Herrero.

In studying this Caucasoid penetration it soon became clear that there are strains other than Caucasoid intermixed in many of the tribes and stocks of Africa. Before the Caucasoid elements could be satisfactorily evaluated it therefore became necessary to disentangle the other racial and basic stocks which had become intermingled in the African peoples. Although the racial development of the Europeans and the Mongoloids over large areas of their native regions of characterisation is unaffected by Negroid, Australoid or Amerindian strains, the converse is not true of the Negroes, who are frequently very mixed indeed, and sometimes—in the eastern half of the continent at any rate—clearly less than half their genes are of Negroid origin. In fact it would be truer to classify the Bantu of the eastern half of Africa as "mulattoes" rather than Negroids, and treat them as largely comparable with the American Negroes, except that the alien element in their racial composition is of course only part Caucasoid whereas it is the principal alien strain in the American Negro.

Although it has been the normal thing to treat all the nigrescence found in Africa as of Negroid origin,[4] a personal investigation soon revealed that in very many cases the dark people seen were quite devoid of Negroid characters. This led me to question the assumption. While it is recognised that genetic segregation could account for this phenomena, at the same time the frequency of the occurrence appeared far too high, and I was forcibly reminded of what I had found very frequently in my investigations of tribal peoples in central India, where I was forced to the conclusion that the Melanoid strain in, for instance, the Murias was probably more Australoid than Negroid, although there were, perhaps, Negroid elements present as well. In the same way, I have been compelled to conclude that in Africa there is also a Melanoid stock which is not Negroid and which, for the present at any rate, is more conveniently designated Australoid rather than anything else.

In addition, since the Mediterraneans range in skin colour from white to brown and, if the views of Professor Ruggles Gates and the writer are correct, even to very dark brown verging on black (in such places as India, where a mutation probably occurred as a protective selective factor), then a smaller Melanoid element might well be derived from this source.

There is, moreover, a brachycephalic element in Africa which

[3] "Racial Origins" by Raymond A. Dart, in *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* edited by I. Schapera, Maskew Miller, Cape Town, 1959, p. 27.

[4] See, for instance, *Races of Africa* by C. G. Seligman, Oxford University Press, London, third edition, 1961, p. 140 ff.

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needs to be explained. A stock explanation has been that, as in the case of the Caucasoids, the Negroids are polymorphic or polytypic for this trait. This I have never accepted, as it has always seemed to be more economic to derive any broadening of the skull from the drift of genes in the course of ages from the one great brachycephalic block in Asia—the Mongoloids—and to accept that they ultimately became engrafted, because of selective values, upon another quite different long-skulled strain. In this way mesaticephaly and brachicephaly in Africa may be accounted for. To meet the objection that mesaticephaly and brachycephaly occur among the Bushmen of southernmost Africa, a stock furthest away from the Mongoloid block, it should be remembered that the Bushmen came from the north, the north-east and the Horn of Africa, and so in fact were probably in touch with western Asia at a very early period. Therefore the broad skulls found among the Cappoids would present no difficulties. Indeed the occurrance of yellow skin, slanting eyes, epicanthic folds in the eyes, short legs, and so on, in my opinion leaves no doubt that there is a substantial Mongoloid element in, for instance, the Bushmen. These homologies between the Mongoloids and the Bushmen are too numerous to allow of any chance parallel development of the same characters in the two diversely located stocks. By the law of chance the odds are so considerable that they appear to rule out this consideration altogether. It should be remembered that in the Bay of Bengal there are broad skulled "Negrito" Andaman Islanders, who are a similar cross with the Mongoloids. In their case it is fairly evident that the Melanoid admixture is probably drawn rather from an Australoid than from a Negroid strain. The differences between the Bushmen and the Andamanese—apart from some Negroid strain probably in the former—are largely due to the fact that quite different environments have resulted in differences in selection which in due course have led to the retention of different traits in these two amalgams drawn from basically the same underlying racial constituents.

Having these views in mind it has always seemed more rational to consider that brachycephalic Negroes must be derived from a similar cross between Negroid and Mongoloid, and this appears to be the view also of Professor Dart. The only difference is that in the case of the Cappoids the crossing took place at a very remote period, perhaps in the *Homo erectus* stage of development, and thus, for all practical purposes, a racial breed has been created which breeds more or less true.[5]

[5] It is not exactly true breeding, as the brachycephalic strain is not consistent throughout, and the majority appear to be dolichocephalic. This failure of the broad skull to become fixed might be due in part to the Bushmen Cappoids crossing from time to time with the Hottentot Cappoids,

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Speaking in general terms, the Cappoid genes appear to be a major racial element throughout eastern Africa south of the Ethiopian Highlands and the Horn of Africa, and in certain regions such as the Zambesi which will be discussed in due course. This fact accounts for a great deal of the golden undertone in the skin colour of the Negroes met with in eastern and southern Africa. It is not due to Caucasoid crossing, which gives a less golden and more grey tone. Where both Cappoid and Caucasoid are concerned the skin is a lighter golden colour than where there is only Cappoid admixture when a deeper, richer, golden undertone is noted in the Bantu.

I have, therefore, been led to the conclusion that in eastern Africa, and throughout all Africa for that matter, we are dealing with four stocks. First of all we have the Negroids, then—mainly located in the north-east—we have the Australoids, next there are the Cappoids—the result of an Australoid-Mongoloid cross which occurred in a very ancient stage of racial development, and which I prefer to designate a racial breed and not a race or stock as such —and finally there is a Caucasoid strain.

In addition, however, we have also a pure Mongoloid intrusion, perhaps of lesser importance than the four principal strains mentioned but there all the time and not to be overlooked. Some of it has come in directly as pure Mongoloid, for instance through Chinese contacts with the east coast of Africa throughout historical times—a subject on which I shall touch later. Some of it also has come in indirectly, not only through the Cappoids but much more recently through the Indonesian and Malay settlements in Madagascar and south-eastern Africa in the course of the Christian era and before the arrival of the European settlers.

I propose to describe briefly the ethnology, as it has been evaluated anthroposcopically, of each of the principal African countries I have visited, and afterwards I shall sum up equally briefly how the ethnological evolution occurred, suggesting the movements of population and the migrations of distinct racial types which have led to the present distributions as we find them, as well as the more economical explanations of the phenomena encountered.

ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia is a rugged mountain mass, rising to 8000 and 9000 feet, and so it is a region which, although hot in the day time, has

who have themselves had a back cross into the Hamites, as will be shown in due course, thus intensifying the dolichocephalic element. It is probable, however, that the pentagonoid skull common to the Bushmen, like the pentagonal shape of the face, is due to the Mongoloid infusion, so that the shape of skull, even if not its proportions, witnesses to the creation of a stable cross in the Cappoids.

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cold nights. At first sight it would seem to be suitable for White settlement. On the other hand it should be borne in mind that the penetrating power of the ultra violet rays from the sun is very great. It is, in my experience, much easier to get sunstroke in Ethiopia than it is in lower-lying countries on the equator. Therefore we would expect a fair skin to be a liability in this high mountain region within the tropics, and the Caucasoid type could only hope to survive effectively through having undergone mutations for melanism, or through some racial hybridisation which in effect would have resulted in borrowing genes for nigrescence from a black stock such as the Negroids or Australoids.

This probably accounts for the fact that while the Ethiopians are not historically of Black ancestry they are in fact a quite dark people. They are as dark as those to be seen in the Sudan, and often as dark as the people to the south of the frontiers of Ethiopia. That this nigrescence of the Ethiopians is not something relatively new in their racial history is clear from the name of the country which, like that of the Sudan, means the land of Black People. In the case of the Sudan the name was given to the country by the fairer, northern Arabs because of its previous occupation by the Nilo-Hamitics who are dark. The suggestion is, therefore, that this was the name given to Ethiopia by the fairer Semitic Mediterranean Caucasoids from Arabia on their first conquest of the country, and that it referred to the colour of the indigenous population.

However, when we come to investigate the population in some detail we find that this superficial judgement, if it suggests that the Ethiopians are Melanoids, requires some considerable modification.

First of all, although there is an Ethiopian state and nationality there is hardly an Ethiopian people in the same way that we might think of the French or Spanish for instance. The country is based upon a tribal society. At the top, in the ruling caste, there is a Semitic conquering stock represented by such tribes as the Amhara and the Tigrinya, who claim to have come from Arabia. In fact they appear to have had links with Saba (Sheba) and what is now called the Yemen. Certainly they conquered Sheba in about the sixth century A.D. but it seems they came from there before that time. This fact is associated with the claim of their rulers to be descended from King Solomon through the Queen of Sheba—hence the title of the Emperor as King of Kings and Lion of the Tribe of Judah. They appear to have imposed their authority over the existing Cushite or Hamitic peoples, in the course of which their languages became largely Hamiticised, and this is more true of Amharic than of the Tigrinyan language.

The Semitic conquerors form an aristocracy ruling the country, and have finely graded aristocratic social ranks and titles in much

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the same way as in the traditional states of Europe. The Amhara, from whom come the Emperor and the Imperial family, have a wide variety of skin colours ranging from black to fair—the Emperor is as fair as a southern European—and their hair texture varies from kinky to the normal straight wavy and curly Caucasoid types. Their features are, in the main, Caucasoid and they tend to have pointed faces. This is seen in many of the Amharas, and particularly in the Emperor. It is somewhat reminiscent of similar types in eastern Germany which appear to be the result of a cross between Nordic and Alpine East Baltic stocks. Here there is no substantial broad-skulled racial stock to account for this form. It might, however, arise from the crossing of the broad-faced and heavy-browed Atlantic type—which was originally the basis of the real Hamites of northern Africa—with the slenderer, narrower-faced eastern Mediterranean Semites from whom the Amhara are derived.

Because of genetic segregation, it should be observed, pure Mediterranean types without any trace of admixtures are found from time to time among the Ethiopians. Biasutti, for instance, has illustrated this fact.[6]

The tribes over whom these peoples, traditionally derived from the Semites of Arabia, rule are not of Semitic origin but belong, as has already been observed, to the Cushitic or Hamitic stock. They are, therefore, of the same racial matrix as many of the peoples of the Sudan to the north and as the Somalis to the south-east. To this group belong also the Nubians on the borders of Egypt and the Sudan. The characteristic of this stock is that it is generally Hamitic in speech and Melanoid in colouring—but it is decidedly non-Negroid in appearance. Despite this many writers refer to these darker peoples of the Abyssiania-Horn of Africa complex as Negroid, which is quite wrong.

In my opinion this stock is compounded from a Caucasoid race —the Atlantic—which probably originated the Hamitic speech and whose area of characterisation extended originally from the Atlas Mountains to Libya and Egypt, and which comprised the ancestors of the Berbers, Kabyles and White Libyans, as well as elements among the earlier Egyptians. Gradually they spread southwards and in process of time came into contact with an entirely different racial strain which for simplicity we may look upon as some kind of Australoid. These might well have been related in some way or another to the advanced Neanderthalers of Mount Carmel, for instance, although I am not necessarily saying they were descended from those people. The crossing of these stocks led to the creation of the racial breed which is generally denominated as Cushite or

[6] *Razze e Popoli della Terra* by R. Biasutti, Unione Tipografico-Editrice Torinese, Turin, 1959, Vol. III, p. 183.

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Hamite. The objection to this terminology is that Cush was a country, so Cushite is a nationality, and Hamitic is the name of a linguistic group, while the original Hamites were, if my theory is correct, the Atlantic (or Faelic) branch of the Caucasoid stock. However, provided it is realised that in the context of Ethiopia and Somalia we are concerned with the end product, that is the Hamitised cross-bred Caucasoid-Australoid strain, then we may continue to use this well established but otherwise not very desirable terminology.

From the Australoid side of the cross comes the Melanoid colouring, and no doubt from both the Australoid and the Atlantic elements are derived the heavy supra-orbital ridges which are characteristic of both racial groups. The latter trait is particularly well developed among many of the Ethiopians. Despite the fact that some have said there is nothing which they can call a national trait,[7] this could be pointed out as a typical Ethiopian feature. It is well marked in the person of the Emperor, for instance.

Since there is reason to believe that the Australoids and the Caucasoids are nearly related stocks, this cross creating the racial type so characteristic of the modern linguistic group of the Hamites mainly involves a very limited number of traits amongst which the most marked difference is that of colour. The result is that the features tend to be generally Caucasoid, and no doubt this has been assisted by selective mating. Therefore the typical so-called Hamite should really be regarded for all practical purposes as a black type of European.

This was the type which I think evolved in the region stretching from Nubia through Ethiopia to the Horn of Africa. In the north they have been conquered by Caucasoid Egyptians from the earliest times, in the Sudan by Caucasoid Semitic Arabs in later times, and in Ethiopia by invading Arabian Caucasoid Semites who have remained the ruling caste of Ethiopia down to the present.

Today the Hamitic peoples are represented in Ethiopia by such vigorous cavalry people as the Gallas, in Somalia by the distinctly warlike Somalis, and in the Sudan by the Hadendoa, who were the Fuzzy Wuzzies referred to with respect by the British soldiers in the Sudan War.

However, from an early time the Hamitic peoples of the Sudan and Ethiopia must have made contact with the Negroids, whose main area of characterisation appears to have been the lower Niger and the Congo basin. Therefore, just as the so-called Hamites are a racial breed in the shatter-belt south of the Caucasoid block, so further cross-breeding is seen to have occurred as they approach the region which is the homeland of the Negroid block.

[7] Schweinfurth, quoted by C. G. Seligman, *Races of Africa, ut supra,* p. 103.

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Thus between the so-called Hamites—Caucasoid-Australoid crosses—and the Negroids is a zone of peoples who are characterised by both physical and cultural features which show derivation from both sides. So we have, for instance, the Nilo-Hamitic group, to which are assigned some of the peoples of the southern Sudan, such as the Watutsies on the eastern borders of the Congo, and the Massai of Kenya and Tanganyika. These peoples, therefore, are Caucasoid-Australoids crossed with Negroids.

This situation is, however, complicated by the fact that from the earliest times the Caucasoids, the Caucasoid-Australoids and the Caucasoid-Australoid-Negroids have tended to prey upon the Negroids proper. In so far as the latter were conquered by the others their women and children were probably taken, and so Negroid genes entered into the peoples who conquered them. This perhaps accounts for the Negroid elements in the so-called Nilo-Hamites. It has, for instance, been observed that the richer settled Arab tribes in the Sudan have more Negroid traits than the poorer Nomadic tribes who could not afford so many Negroid slaves.[8]

As far as the Hamites themselves are concerned, their absorption of Negroid blood appears to have been due to the fact that as a conquering and dominating group they were not only able to overcome their outer circle of Nilo-Hamites, from whose women indirectly Negroid genes would be absorbed, but also they were able to practice slavery in a big way. Indeed the word for slave in Amharic is the same word as for Negro—as far as the Ethiopians were concerned the two were the same. Probably this, more than any other single factor, accounts for the absorption of Negroid genes by the Ethiopians. In such places as Addis Ababa it is noticeable that the type carries more Negroid strains in the poorer quarters than in the country districts and in the higher social classes. This is confirmatory of the observation, since the lower classes in Addis Ababa would have been slaves until recent times. The *modus operandi* of the entry of Negroid genes into the Semitic, Amharic, Hamitic, Galla and related stocks was no doubt due to the prevailing polygamy and concubinage which has existed throughout the ages.

The transmission of genes, however, has not been entirely one way. Owing to their dominating position the Amharas and the other Semitic groups have been able to impose their blood on the Gallas, Gurajis and other earlier, Hamitic, peoples. Thus there has been a flow of Caucasoid genes from the Semitic invaders to the indigenous Hamitic speaking peoples. Many individuals will be found among these Hamitic tribes who are markedly Caucasoid, and indeed Semitic, in appearance.

I am tempted to conclude that if slavery had not existed in

[8] C. G. Seligman, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

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Ethiopia, involving as it has the introduction of Negroes into the country, the selective effects of environment as well as assortative mating—and that selection which comes through ability to conquer and rule, and so enables the conquerors to have a greater chance of survival—would all have contributed in the end to the development of a people who would have been clearly Caucasoid-Hamitic in type instead of having a wide individual variation from pure Caucasoid through Caucasoid-Hamitic to Hamitic and Hamito-Negroid.

Because of the superficial distinction presented by skin colour (which at the most is only representative of four pairs of genetic factors) there is a tendency to overlook the other genetic differences (such as hair form, shape of skull, lips, nostrils, and proportions of limbs) in a population which is already dark coloured, and to ignore the vast differences which in fact exist between the Ethiopian type and that of the Negroid peoples. For the same reason it is possible that the similarity of skin colour makes for less natural repulsion between the Hamites and the Negroids than would otherwise be the case—for it must be realised that this repulsion does exist no matter how much we may tend to minimise it at the present time for sujective ethical and political reasons. It is not only a widespread characteristic among the Whites (no doubt claimed to be due to culturally induced factors) but among the Negroids also. I have more than once found that Bantus have not liked to be touched by Whites. If, therefore, a similarity of skin colour tends to lessen natural repulsion, this means that mating between Hamites and Negroids is made easier than it would be between Caucasoids and Negroids. One result of this crossing is the kinky hair found among some of the Amharas and Tingrinyans. Nevertheless, it must be emphasised that despite these obvious evidences of absorption of Negroid blood it would be a great mistake to look upon the Ethiopians—whether the conquering Amharas and their related Semitic stocks or the Hamitic Gallas and others—as a cross-bred Negroid people. They are nothing of the sort, and it must be firmly stated that they are basically Hamitic as distinct from Negroid.

As in the Sudan, and as we shall see later in Somalia, this difference between the ruling non-Negroid types and the Negroid-infiltrated lower classes is reflected in a difference of attitude towards a disease such as leprosy. While all peoples are concerned to avoid this dreadful disease, especially when large numbers of certain sections of the population contract it, nevertheless there is in these non-Negroid parts of Africa—the Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia—a general attitude to it which is perhaps most easily summed up by saying that it is not considered to be an imminent menace to the ruling stocks and educated classes, since it is

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generally regarded more as a "Negroid" disease. Leprosy is not, of course, limited to the Negroids, but its incidence is greater among them—and in any case there is a genetic, and so no doubt racial, incidence to the disease, in addition to which there is reason to believe that certain racial stocks tend to contact certain forms of leprosy more severely than others. This more than anything else summarises the ethnic differences and the way the social structure tends to have an ethnological basis.

Although there is evidence of Negroid elements among the poorer classes of Addis Ababa, it must be emphasised that this cannot be taken as typical of the whole country, since any capital city can be expected to differ in some respects from the rest of the country in an ethnological analysis. The Dukes (*Rases*), Governors and other leaders of the Amhara set up their encampments one or two generations ago around the Emperor's palace, and it is out of these temporary settlements that the modern city has grown. These leaders brought slaves into the encampments to serve their own domestic and menial needs as well as those of their chiefs, officers and soldiery. As a consequence this Negroid element is today more apparent in Addis Ababa than in the country as a whole. It is at the bottom of the social structure, and completely Negroid types are rarely found in any significant numbers in the higher social classes. In the lower classes where these elements are found, they are already mixed, and these people are far from being pure Negroids. However a pure Negroid type will occasionally be found. For instance, when visiting some lepers who were living in shacks among the tombs in a graveyard, I saw one pure coal-black blind Negro beggar living in the same shack with three leprous Ethiopian families.

It may well be argued that since the Arabs (in Egypt and the Sudan), the Semito-Hamites (in Ethiopia) and the Hamites (in Somalia) have throughout the centuries preyed on the Negroes and reduced them to slavery in their midst it is not surprising that they are more observable in the lowest social strata in these countries. It should be observed, however, that although slavery may have been only recently abolished in Ethiopia by the present Emperor, it has in fact not been operative for some generations now in Egypt, the Sudan and Somalia, and the same situation is to be observed there. There is very little evidence of upward mobility into the higher social classes on the part of those most heavily charged with Negroid genes. Since these Negroids are acculturated they have no linguistic or cultural barriers to overcome in places such as Khartoum, for instance, yet all the better class business and the professions are still being conducted by Arabs and, of course, Indians in the Sudan, and by Arabs and Copts in Egypt. The fact that in the past the Negroes have been

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the victims of Copto-Arab, Arab, Semito-Hamitic and Hamitic aggression, and have been succesfully subjected by them, might well suggest that they are basically weaker in competition with these stocks.

While discussing Ethiopia it should be remembered that, as in Egypt, we are dealing with a very ancient people and a very old civilisation. Ethiopia claims to have been a monarchical state from the eleventh century B.C. It is also the only Christian kingdom in Africa, and the only Christian state other than South Africa and Rhodesia. The Church is Orthodox, but actually the Christians comprise less than half the total population since Christianity is really the religion of the Amharas and not of the Hamites. The rest of the population is Moslem and pagan. Ethiopia is not a democracy—if it were, and the firm but progressive rule of the Emperor were removed, there is little doubt that the state would break up into warring tribal elements. That Ethiopia has more stability—despite very many shortcomings in its society—than is the case with many states in Africa is due to the fact that it is an organic growth based upon the principle of power being in the hands of what are probably the genetically more able sections of the population.

It might be mentioned here, since it involves an Ethiopian genealogy, that much play has been made of the allegedly Negro origin of the Russian Pushkin, who has been cited as one of the beneficent results of racial miscegenation with the Negroes. The basic facts, however, are not as they are alleged to be. On examination it will be found that the maternal great-grandfather of Pushkin was an Ethiopian "prince," which means he was either of the royal line or at least the higher nobility, and definitely of the Amhara or a related stock—that is, a stock derived from the Semites who came from Arabia and in whose blood were Caucasoid Mediterranean and Hamitic (Caucasoid-Australoid) elements. This ancestor of Pushkin was, therefore, certainly much more White than he was Black and Negroid. This Ethiopian found himself in the service of the Tsar, and proved to be a man of considerable genius. He was one of the Tsar's principal advisers on engineering and fortification, as well as being employed by the sovereign in many important state matters. We have yet to hear of a pure-blooded Negroid who has evinced these gifts and come to be employed in comparable situations. It is clear that the genius of Pushkin did not come from the miscegenation of a Negroid and a Caucasoid.

We have here the crossing of a gifted person from an élite class in a conquering aristocracy with persons of not undistinguished ability of European stock. This is quite another matter from a simple Negro-Caucasoid cross producing a genius. This is

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just another instance of how insufficient information and the lack of ethnological knowledge can lead to quite false conclusions—in this case that Negro-White crossing is good because such an alleged mating ultimately produced the genius of Pushkin!

I have had occasion to mention the Watutsies as being the result of a Hamitic-Negroid cross. Another observation of the same character might well be made here. The Gallas of Ethiopia, although subjects of the Amharas in that country, had an offshoot which went into Uganda and formed there a conquering aristocracy over the Negroid inhabitants of the three kingdoms—which emerged as a result—of Bunyoro, Karagwe and Buganda. These were the only countries in central and eastern Africa, apart from the earlier civilisation complex of Zimbabwe, which had any form of relatively advanced civilisation. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this was due to the superior genius and ability in organisation and the art of civilisation of the Hamitic element which provided the leadership and the élite corps of these three kingdoms.

Turning to another ethnological problem, in the Tigré province of Ethiopia in particular are found the Falashas or Black Jews. Their kings, who ruled them till 1800, claimed descent from King David of Israel. Although up to the present and for a long time past they appear to have intermarried only among themselves, it is certain that they must have been less closely and endogamously organised at one time or else they could not be dark coloured as they are today. Probably in the early period of their settlement they mated with Hamitic women and so introduced into their stock Melanoid genes which would have selective values and so in the end would displace the lighter skins of the Armenoid-Mediterranean Jewish type. Their deviation from normal Judaism in the deification of the Sabbath as the Goddess Sanbat, and other non-Judaic ideas which have been imported into their religion, suggests intermarriage with indigenous stocks from whom they derived pagan elements which have caused them to deviate from Jewish religious practices and beliefs.

Reverting to the Ugandan kingdoms and to the Watutsies, who have Hamitic blood derived from Ethiopia, it should be borne in mind that Hamitic strains are also to be traced much further afield, for instance in South Africa, as we shall see later. They may be clearly seen in some of the Herreros in South West Africa, and Loeb has seen the possibility of some of the blood of the Hamitic peoples of Ethiopia having entered into—and thus accounting for—some of the higher cultural elements in the Ambos of South West Africa and Angola.[9] Some Zulus who are distinctly

[9] *In Feudal Africa* by Edwin M. Loeb, Indiana University, Indiana, and Mouton and Company, The Hague, 1962, p. 6. He actually goes as

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Australoid and some Tongas of northern Natal, near the Mozambique border, have the same traits. Since these are to be found in the racial breed which makes the so-called Hamite, it suggests that here we have the descendants of people whose origins probably lay in Ethiopia or Somalia. Therefore the Hamitic racial breed's influence in Africa is not confined to north-eastern Africa (Nubia and the Sudan), Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa (Somalia) but is traceable all the way to the south and west. It is also a noticeable fact that those Bantu tribes which show evidence of Hamitic blood usually not only have a more advanced civilisation, or system of government, but are also more martial. The Zulus and the Herreros are examples of this. It is hard to escape the conclusion that this is a hereditary characteristic derived from the warlike Hamite peoples.

Although, as we shall see, the Bushman type is significant throughout much of eastern Africa, it is not a strongly noticeable influence in Ethiopia, and this tends to make a further distinction between the Ethiopic Hamitic types and the Negroids to their south. It also means that there is an absence of the golden undertone in the skin, and where light skin occurs among the Hamites it is largely if not entirely due to the survival of Caucasoid genes for light colouring.

far as to infer that this element is Caucasoid, but it can be assumed to have come through the Hamites.

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RACE AND MENTAL DIFFERENCES

By DONALD A. SWAN

The link between *race*—a biological or zoological concept—and *psychology*—the science of human behavior and intellectual functioning—has been a subject of scientific interest for a long time. Since the development of differential psychological methods and techniques which could provide quantitative estimates of individual differences in "physiological functions, motor capacities, sensory and perceptual sensitivity, intelligence, achievement and knowledge, interests, attitudes, and personality traits,"[1] numerous studies have been conducted on racial differences in psychological characteristics. As in the case of most morphological traits, racial differences with respect to any single psychological trait generally take the form of overlapping statistical distributions. This is clearly illustrated on pages 67 and 68 of the recent monograph by Kennedy *et al.* which presents a comparison of the distribution of intelligence quotients in White and Negro samples.[2] However, as Darlington (1953) notes, "overlap applies to each difference, but not to all differences, if they are taken together."[3] At the present time we can do no more than briefly indicate some of the major surveys of this material.

I

Coon (1962) points out that "the seat of intelligence is the central nervous system" and that "the size of the human brain is related to a capacity for performance in thinking, planning, communicating, and behaving in groups." According to Coon, "in living individuals and populations, differences are found in the

[1] Leona Tyler, 1956, *The Psychology of Human Differences,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, pp. 43-44.

[2] W. A. Kennedy, V. Van de Riet and J. C. White, 1963, "A Normative Sample of Intelligence and Achievement of Negro Elementary School Children in the South-eastern United States," *Society for Research in Child Development Monographs,* Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, Vol. XXVIII, No. 6, pp. 67-68.

[3] C. D. Darlington, 1953, *The Facts of Life,* Allen and Unwin, London, p. 290: "These situations are exactly paralleled for human races and classes so far as the appearances, the phenotypes, are concerned. We find absolute differences like those in colour. We find overlapping, statistical, differences like those in height, speed of running, brain size, and intelligence. We also find that overlap applies to each difference, but not to all differences, if they are taken together."

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relative sizes of the lobes and in the surface areas of the cortex."[4] There have been a number of scientific studies on racial differences in the size, shape and structure of the brain and endocrine system. Ariën Kappers,[5] Canella,[6] Hambly,[7] Gates,[8] Connolly[9] and Carothers[10] have surveyed and described some of these studies.

Tyler (1959) notes that over the past 50 years hundreds of tests of psychometric intelligence and educational achievement have been administered to many racial and national groups, particularly in the United States. Much of this material has been summarized and evaluated by Porteus and Babcock,[11] Porteus,[12] Wintringer,[13] Tyler,[14] Garrett[15] and Shuey.[16]

Coon (1962) writes that "it is a common observation among anthropologists who have worked in many parts of the world in intimate contact with people of different races that racial differences in temperament also exist and can be predicted."[17] Canella,[18]

[4] Carleton S. Coon, 1962, *The Origin of Races,* Knopf, New York, p. 662.

[5] C. U. Ariëns Kappers, 1929, *The Evolution of the Nervous System in Invertebrates, Vertebrates, and Man,* De Erven F. Bohn, Haarlem, Holland, pp. 221-302.

[6] Mario F. Canella, 1941, *Principi di Psicologia Razziale,* Sansoni Edizioni Scientifiche, Florence; Mario F. Canella, 1943, *Lineamenti di Antropobiologia,* Sansoni Edizioni Scientifiche, Florence.

[7] Wilfrid D. Hambly, 1947, "Cranial Capacities: A Study in Methods," *Fieldiana: Anthropology,* Vol. XXXVI, No. 3, pp. 25-73.

[8] R. Ruggles Gates, 1946, *Human Genetics,* Macmillan, New York, Vol. II, pp. 1150-1169.

[9] Cornelius J. Connolly, 1950, *External Morphology of the Primate Brain,* Thomas, Springfield, Illinois.

[10] J. C. Carothers, 1953, "The Brain and its Functioning," *The African Mind in Health and Disease,* World Health Organization, Geneva, pp. 75-84.

[11] Stanley D. Porteus and Marjorie E. Babcock, 1926, *Temperament and Race,* Badger, Boston.

[12] Stanley D. Porteus, 1937, *Primitive Intelligence and Environment,* Macmillan, New York.

[13] Gérard Wintringer, 1955, "Considérations sur l'Intelligence du Noir Africain," *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples,* Vol. X, No. 1, pp. 37-55; Gérard Wintringer, 1964, "The Intelligence of the African Negro," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 35-44.

[14] Leona Tyler, *op. cit.*

[15] Henry E. Garrett, 1957, *Great Experiments in Psychology,* Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York.

[16] Audrey M. Shuey, 1958, *The Testing of Negro Intelligence,* Bell, Lynchburg, Virginia.

[17] Carleton S. Coon, 1962, *The Origin of Races, op. cit.,* pp. 115-116; Edouard Loth, 1931, *Anthropologie des Parties Molles (Muscles, Intestins, Vaisseaux, Nerfs, Périphériques),* Masson et Cie, Paris; C. D. Darlington, *op. cit.,* p. 323: "Differences in temperament and hence social behaviour affecting, for example, wildness or tameness, have been shown to be hereditary in a great variety of animals, rats and mice, sheep and dogs. . . . Variations in the adrenal gland, governing the emotions of fear and anger,

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Heuse,[19] Carothers[20] and Dreger and Miller [21] have reviewed some of these published studies on racial differences in temperament and personality.

II

Some writers have speculated that reported ethnic group psychological differences—particularly on tests of psychometric intelligence—are the result of socio-economic factors. Klineberg (1951), for example, argued that American Negroes are handicapped in test comparisons with American Whites by culturally weighted test questions and by poor socio-economic conditions. He contended that the difference in test results between the two groups tends to disappear in proportion as the difference in environment is reduced.[22]

Several investigators have tested Klineberg's "culture hypothesis" by examining groups of Negroes and Whites matched or equated for socio-economic background. McGurk (1951), for example, attempted to determine whether or not socio-economic differences are sufficient to account for the consistently lower average intelligence test performance of Negroes. Using a test consisting of 103 "least cultural" and 81 "most cultural" questions (as rated by 78 judges), McGurk selected subjects from 2863 seniors in 14 high schools in northern New Jersey and southeastern

and the thyroid, influencing alertness, are bound to be the basis of selection, whether it is for aggressiveness in the game cock, or for docility in the cow or the rabbit or for either in man. The genetic differences which mark out fighting tribes from peaceful agriculturalists, the extinct North American Indian tribes from their amenable survivors, the untameable Kurd from his tameable neighbours in Tabriz, the Pathan from the Bengali, and have been necessary for the survival of each, no doubt express themselves as much by way of differences in hormone capacity as in the structural adaptation of the nervous system."

[18] Mario Canella, *op. cit.*

[19] Georges A. Heuse, 1952, "Fondements et Problèmes de l'Anthropologie Psychologique," *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples,* Vol. VII, pp. 62-85; Georges A. Heuse, 1954, "La Psychologie des Noirs Africains. De l'Anthropologie Psychologique à l'Ethnopsychologie Politique Appliquée," *Problèmes d'Afrique Centrale,* Vol. VII, pp. 169-194; Georges A. Heuse, 1954, "La Psychologie des Groupes Humains Ethniques et Raciaux," *Revue de Synthèse,* Vol. LXXV, pp. 165-191; Georges A. Heuse, 1955, "Personnalité du Noir et Relations Interethniques," *Encyclopedie Mensuelle de la France d'Outre-mer,* Vol. V, pp. 453-457; Georges A. Heuse, 1955, *L'Anthropologie Psychologique. De la Méthode en Neurologie, Psychophysiologie et Psychologie Comparées des Groupes Humains Naturels,* These Sciences, Paris.

[20] J. C. Carothers, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-94.

[21] Ralph M. Dreger and Kent S. Miller, 1960, "Comparative Psychological Studies of Negroes and Whites in the United States, *Psychological Bulletin,* Vol. LVII, No. 5, pp. 361-402.

[22] Otto Klineberg, 1951, *Race and Psychology,* Unesco, Paris.

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Pennsylvania. From this group he matched 213 White senior high school students with 213 Negro students on the basis of age, sex, course of study, school attended and socio-economic background. The socio-economic background was matched on the basis of 11 items on the Sims Record Card, so that each Negro was matched with a White pupil whose revised Sims score was either equal to or lower than the Negro's score.

The principal findings of McGurk's study are as follows:

1. The mean score of the 213 Negroes was significantly below the mean score of the 213 Whites. Negro overlap of the White mean was only 20 per cent (equality would require a 50 per cent overlap).

2. White-Negro differences were greater on the questions judged "least cultural" than on those judged "most cultural."

3. The mean score of the 53 Negroes comprising the "high-status" group was well below the matched 53 "high-status" White group, while a group of 53 "low-status" Negroes scored slightly above a matched group of 53 "low-status" Whites.[23]

In a later review, McGurk (1953) concluded that "there is no evidence that as the socio-economic status of the Negro increases, racial test-score differences decrease."[24]

Garrett (1962) reviewed several studies conducted over a fifty-year period which matched Whites and Negroes for various educational and socio-economic factors, including elementary, high school and college students, and noted that "Negro overlap of White norms when groups are matched . . . does not increase markedly as compared with overlap in random samples." Garrett also noted that Negro-White differences in intelligence test performance have been virtually constant over a fifty-year period, and that "the evidence for diminished differences between Negroes and Whites of comparable status . . . is non-existent."[25]

III

Although considerable knowledge has been accumulated in the field of race psychology, there are many avenues of research which

[23] F. C. J. McGurk, 1951, *Comparison of the Performance of Negro and White High School Seniors on Cultural and Non-Cultural Psychological Test Questions,* Catholic University of America Press (microcard), Washington, D.C.

[24] F. C. J. McGurk, 1953, "On White and Negro Test Performance and Socio-Economic Factors, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology,* Vol. XLVIII, p. 450.

[25] Henry E. Garrett, 1962, "The SPSSI and Racial Differences," *The American Psychologist,* Vol. XVII, No. 5; F. C. J. McGurk, 1961, "Psychological Test Score Differences and the 'Culture Hypothesis'," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 165-175.

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should prove of interest to future invesigators. Coon, Garn and Birdsell (1950) suggest research on racial differences in brain chemistry "in specific functional areas, in metabolism, and in the degree of development of the association systems."[26] Smartt (1956) has proposed investigations of structural differences in the diencephalic-frontal system of European and African brains.[27] The findings by Gallais *et al.* (1951) of large and significant differences —both in proportion of abnormalities and in pattern of response within the normal range—in the electro-physiology of the brain of West African Negroes, offers a further line of research.[28]

Thompson (1957) has suggested studies on racial differences in "factors of ability."[29] Preliminary results from a study by Osborne (1963) indicate that there are significant racial differences between White and Negro pre-school children in factors of intelligence and factor structure.[30] Longitudinal factor studies on groups of White and Negro twins should provide much information on the genetic basis of racial differences in factor structure. There is also need of further research on the psychometric intelligence of other racial and national groups in the United States in addition to the American Negro.[31] Porteus and Babcock (1926) conducted a comprehensive interdisciplinary study on the intelligence and temperament of the various racial and national groups in Hawaii.[32] It would be interesting to repeat this study at the present time to see to what extent the test results have been affected by nearly forty years of social and economic changes.

Stratton and Henry (1943) reported significant racial differences in physiological reactions to emotional stimulus between Caucasoid (American and European Whites) and Mongoloid (Chinese and Japanese) students at the University of California.[33] Garn (1961)

[26] Carleton S. Coon, Stanley M. Garn and J. B. Birdsell, 1950, *Races,* Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, pp. 100-101.

[27] C. G. F. Smartt, 1956, "Mental Maladjustment in the East African," *Journal of Mental Science,* Vol. LII, pp. 441-466.

[28] P. Gallais, G. Miletto, J. Carriol and J. Bert, 1951, "Introduction à l'Etude d'E.E.G. Physiologique du Noir d'Afrique, *Médecine Tropicale,* Vol. XI, pp. 128-146.

[29] William R. Thompson, 1957, "The Significance of Personality and Intelligence Tests in Evaluation of Population Characteristics," *The Nature and Transmission of the Genetic and Cultural Characteristics of Human Populations,* Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, pp. 46-49.

[30] R. Travis Osborne, 1963, "Factorial Composition of the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children at the Pre-School Level," *Psychological Reports,* Vol. XIII, pp. 443-448.

[31] Nathaniel Weyl and Stefan Possony, 1963, *The Geography of Intellect,* Regnery, Chicago, chapter 7.

[32] Stanley D. Porteus and Marjorie Babcock, *op. cit.*

[33] G. M. Stratton and F. M. Henry, 1943, "Emotion in Chinese, Japanese, and Whites: Racial and National Difference and Likeness in Physio-

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proposes additional research of this nature on racial differences in a variety of psycho-physical tests.[34] Hunter (1936)[35] and Price (1962)[36] reported racial differences in personality as projected on the Rorschach test between White and Negro students matched for educational background or mental ability. Several psychologists, including Tyler (1956), suggest use of the Rorschach and other projective tests as a culture-free method of measuring racial differences in temperament and personality.[37]

IV

Certainly the evidence from the scientific literature of the past fifty years in no way supports the contentions of the UNESCO

logical Reactions to an Emotional Stimulus," *The American Journal of Psychology,* Vol. LXI, No. 2, pp. 161-180; G. M. Stratton and F. M. Henry, 1935, "Some Reactions of Mongolians and Caucasians in an Emotional Situation," *Science,* Vol. LXXI, No. 1850, p. 425: "Chinese and Japanese, together with Americans of the Caucasian race—about fifty persons of each of these three kinds; about 150 persons in all—were placed singly in a laboratory situation aimed to be at least mildly stirring. And the conditions were such that the slight stir of emotion might not have an obviously different association with the different ancestral cultures involved. It, however, is not claimed that the influence of racial culture has been completely excluded. A large and heavy wooden hammer, about six feet long and mechanically controlled, was watched by the subject as it fell from a considerable height and struck a resounding blow close to his outstretched hand. There were instrumental records of the involuntary movement of the hand, together with records of changes in the breathing, pulse rate, blood pressure and the electrical resistance of the skin. The present report is concerned only with the movement of the hand. In this both the Chinese subjects and the Japanese subjects, in the average of their reactions, appear to be significantly different from the Caucasian subjects, giving smaller reactions than do the Caucasians; while the Chinese subjects and the Japanese do not, on the whole, seem significantly different from each other."

[34] Stanley M. Garn, 1961, *Human Races,* Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, pp. 111-112: ". . . With respect to psychotic behavior, however, there may well be some differences. Some of the differences noted between Italian and Irish psychiatric patients may have a genetic background. Differences in adrenochrome production, in serotonin levels in the brain, even in the central nervous system may explain apparent racial differences in the predisposition to particular psychiatric disorders. . . . Still, the most profitable area for investigation would seem to lie in the autonomic nervous system. There are clear-cut reproducible individual differences in autonomic response specificity. Individuals exhibit marked and consistent responses to various kinds of stress. Racial differences in gene-determined response patterns are very likely, especially when one considers the adaptive nature some of these response patterns must hold in nature."

[35] Mary Hunter, 1936, "Responses of Comparable White and Negro Adults to the Rorschach Test," *The Journal of Psychology,* Vol. III, pp. 173-182.

[36] A. Cooper Price, 1962, "A Rorschach Study of the Development of Personality Structure in White and Negro Children in a Southeastern Community," *Genetic Psychology Monographs,* Vol. LXV, pp. 3-52.

[37] Leona Tyler, *op. cit.,* pp. 308-309.

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"Statement on Race" which was published in 1950 and proclaimed that:[38]

> Whatever classification the anthropologist makes of man, he never includes mental characteristics as part of those classifications. . . .
>
> So far as temperament is concerned, there is no definite evidence that there exist inborn differences between human groups.
>
> As for personality and character, these may be considered raceless.

It is rather curious that the only "scientific evidence" offered in support of these statements is a proverb from Confucius (551-478 B.C.)[39]

The UNESCO "Statement on Race" was strongly criticized and attacked by scientists throughout the world, including many associated with UNESCO.[40] The French biologist Heuse (1955), who termed the 1950 UNESCO Statement "a veritable bible for egalitarians conceived chiefly by Ashley Montagu—an anthropologist who conceives race a social myth—and by a group of sociologists substantially ignorant of anthropology," later wrote:[41]

> From the psychological point of view, there are incontestable quantitative racial differences. For example, in tests of memory the median of the Negro is situated at approximately the seventh decile of the White sample. There may even exist qualitative differences in as much as in the Negro the abstractive and attentive constituents of mental organization are so

[38] *The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry,* 1952, UNESCO, Paris, pp. 100-101; "Unesco's New Statement on Race," *Man,* January 1952, p. 9: "As was reported in the November issue of *Man,* the Hon. Editor was at the last moment requested to suspend publication of the provisional text of the Statement on Race, 1951, which had previously been approved and confirmed for that issue by the Social Sciences Department of UNESCO. He is now able to amplify somewhat his observation on the reasons given him for the intervention by the Mass Communications (*i.e.* publicity) Department which led to the request for withholding of publication in *Man* and in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology.*

He gathered at that time (mid-October) that an early version of the draft Statement had already been published by Professor Ashley Montagu in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (an American paper devoted mainly to literature and humour), without the consent of or consultation with UNESCO, and moreover in a form which it was known that members of the drafting panel regarded as very far from difinitive; and that it was this occurrence which led to reconsideration of release to scientific publications, on the ground that such release could not be confined to such publications, but would have to be general."

[39] *The Race Concept: Results of an Inquiry,* p. 100.

[40] *Ibid.,* pp. 17-70.

[41] Georges A. Heuse, 1955, "Race, Racismes et Antiracismes," *Revue de Psychologie des Peuples,* Vol. X, pp. 368-381.

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considerably attenuated that we must not overlook the possibility of compensating phenomenon as yet unknown. In traits of personality, extroversion and suggestibility would appear to be genetically determined in view of the permanence of these traits in the American Negro. . . .

. . . The Negro, American or African, shows no ability (for reasons evidently neurogenetic and psychogenetic in nature) for higher mathematics. The capacity for the manipulation of mathematical symbolism, which is so closely linked to the capacity for abstraction, is so minimal in the Negro that we can call it, if we compare their capacity to that of Whites, apherasthenic.

The noted British anthropologist L. S. B. Leakey (1961) has more recently concluded:[42]

As a social anthropologist, I naturally accept and even stress the fact that there are major differences, both mental and psychological, which separate the different races of mankind. Indeed, I would be inclined to suggest that however great may be the physical differences between such races as the European and the Negro, the mental and psychological differences are greater still.

V

In summary, racial differences have been demonstrated and described in the neural and glandular bases of learning, in tests of psychometric intelligence and educational achievement, in factors of intelligence and test item content, in personality and temperament, and in incidence of mental disease and psychiatric disorder. With respect to any single psychological trait, racial differences generally take the form of overlapping statistical distributions. Studies of Whites and Negroes equated for socio-economic background and compared on "culturally weighted" and "non-culturally weighted" test questions show large and significant racial differences. These studies lend no support to the view that "cultural" or "socio-economic" factors account for ethnic group differences in psychological test performance. Although considerable knowledge has been accumulated in the field of race psychology, there are many avenues of research which should prove of interest to future investigators. These studies should include further research on racial differences in the neural and glandular bases of learning, particularly of the chemistry and and electro-physiology of the brain; racial differences in factors of intelligence and factor structure; and racial differences on projective tests and objective or psycho-physical tests of personality and temperament.

[42] L. S. B. Leakey, 1961, *The Progress and Evolution of Man in Africa*, Oxford University Press, London, p. 15.

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GALTON ON A CHINESE AFRICA

By ETHELRED NEVIN

Chinese Communist penetration of Tanzania and the Congo has involved extermination of a large part of the Arab population of the former and virtually the entire Negro literate class of the latter. This terrorist operation of appalling scope brings to mind some remarkable speculations about the future of Africa by Sir Francis Galton. It will be recalled that Galton earned fame as an African explorer long before he dedicated himself to founding and developing the science of eugenics. Consequently his pessimistic views concerning the innate character and mentality of the Negro race were not mere speculations but were grounded on a vast amount of firsthand observation.

In a letter to the *Times* dated 6th June 1873 (some four years after the publication of *Hereditary Genius*), Galton advanced the hypothesis that much of sub-Saharan Africa cannot be opened up for White settlement and that consequently the *mission civilisatrice* in the Dark Continent may have to be entrusted to other races.

The "average negroes possess too little intellect, self-reliance and self-control to make it possible for them to sustain the burden of any respectable form of civilization without a large measure of external guidance and support," Galton wrote. "The Chinaman is a being of another kind, who is endowed with a remarkable aptitude for a high material civilization. He is seen to the least advantage in his own country, where a temporary dark age still prevails, which has not sapped the genius of the race though it has stunted the development of each member of it by the rigid enforcement of an effete system of classical education which treats originality as a social crime."[1]

After continuing with an exposition of the ways in which the Chinese show their superior intelligence and aptitude for political and social organization by competing with other races and peoples when abroad, Galton added: "The history of the world tells a tale of the continual displacement of populations, each by a worthier successor, and humanity gains thereby." Thus, the English, he asserted, were not the descendants of the Britons, but of their conquerors. In Africa too, there has been a ceaseless struggle for survival and mastery among Arabs, Tuaregs and Fellatah; "Negroes of uncounted varieties, Caffre and Hottentot reel to and fro in the struggle for existence."

[1] This letter is reprinted in *The Life, Letters and Labours of Francis Galton* by Karl Pearson, Cambridge University Press, 1914-1930, Vol. II, pp. 106-107.

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"It is into this free fight of all present that I wish to see a new competitor introduced—namely the Chinaman. The gain would be immense to the whole civilized world if he were to outbreed and finally displace the negro, as completely as the latter has displaced the aborigines of the West Indies. The magnitude of the gain may be partly estimated by making the converse supposition—namely the loss that would somehow ensue if China were somehow to be depopulated and restocked by negroes."

This Galtonian dream of ethnic displacement and advance is seemingly moving towards actualization in the form of nightmare. While the Chinese Communist advance into tropical Africa assumes the ostensible form of either a multiracial struggle against "imperialism" and "colonialism" or else a league of the darker peoples against White mastery, a few facts make this view of the processes and underlying purposes at work highly suspect.

First, the Chinese Communist attitude toward Negroes, including Negroes of the same political persuasion, is one of contempt, segregation and the erection of rigid barriers against any social contacts between members of the two races that might lead to miscegenation. The details of this have recently been publicized in the press and in American magazines by disillusioned African students who took postgraduate work in Red China.

Second, within Africa, the Chinese Communists are pursuing a calculated, systematic and comprehensive policy of exterminating all non-Negro elements and all Negroes with more than vestiges of formal education. Communists and fellow travellers are, of course, exceptions to this rule. The genocide and destruction of educated and semi-educated Negroes reached such appalling proportions in the eastern Congo as to jeopardize all plans for reconstruction. Thus, in a discussion with President Johnson not reported to the press, a representative of the legitimate Tshombe government explained that the entire Stanleyville area could be described as a waste land in terms of genetic resources and that it was difficult to see how any viable society could be rebuilt with the surviving human material.

While extermination of aristocracies and intelligentsias had always been an integral part of the Communist strategy of seizing power, the Chinese Communist operation in tropical Africa seems to be *sui generis*. It is sufficiently thorough to arouse the suspicion that the purpose is not merely to enable the Chinese Communist élite to rule undisputed in the conquered areas, but goes beyond this and entails opening up Africa for China's surplus population and hence, as Galton predicted, eliminating the Negroes in their habitat and supplanting them by Orientals.

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RACE, SELECTION, AND PSYCHICAL TRAITS

By DONALD A. SWAN

While there is considerable agreement amongst anthropologists regarding the effect of selective forces in producing racial differences in physical and physiological traits, there is less agreement as to whether the same selective forces have brought about racial differences in psychical traits. Dobzhansky and Ashley Montagu (1947), for example, contend that in the course of human evolution natural selection favored behavioral plasticity or educability in all cultures so that, unlike physical traits, the "mental capacities of mankind probably did not differ in any marked way" amongst the races of man. However, this speculative hypothesis has gained little support from contemporary geneticists (Fuller 1957, Rife 1959 and Stern 1960). It is the purpose of this article to survey briefly recent work on the heritability of mental traits and the effect of selection on psychical traits, and to determine whether or not race is a valid unit of classification for the study of psychological traits.

I

The extent to which individual differences in psychological characteristics are genetically determined has been a subject of scientific inquiry for more than half a century. Considerable knowledge of the relationship between heredity and intellectual ability has been gained from many carefully conducted twin and family studies. Some of the best evidence on the relationship between genotype and psychological phenotype has been provided by comparison of the differences between identical and fraternal twin pairs. This is based on the assumption that the greater the difference in the degree of similarity between identical and fraternal twins respectively, the greater is the influence of heredity.

Newman (1940) estimated the relative influence of hereditary and environmental factors on physical and psychical traits in a group of 50 identical and 50 fraternal twins. Using the formula

$$h_2 = \frac{Ir - Fr}{1 - Fr}$$

(where h_2 is the percentage of total variance due to differences in heredity, Ir the intrapair coefficient of correlation of identical twins, and Fr the intrapair coefficient of correlation of fraternal

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twins), Newman found the percentage of variance due to heredity to range from 65 to 80 per cent in four measures of mental ability (including the Stanford-Binet and Otis intelligence tests), compared with a range of 75 to 90 per cent in six measures of physical traits.

Vandenberg (1962) administered a battery of psychological tests totalling 117 separate scores to 45 identical and 37 fraternal twin pairs. The tests included Thurstone's Primary Mental Abilities Tests, a variety of other cognitive and achievement tests, motor skills measures, perceptual skills measures, sensory tests and measures of musical ability and interest, and personality tests. A statistically significant "degree of hereditary control" was found in 52 of the 117 test scores including some in each of the six groups. Heritability estimates ranging from .59 to .62 were found for the numerical, verbal, spatial and word fluency abilities in the Thurstone test series.

Erlenmeyer-Kimling and Jarvik (1963) reviewed 52 studies conducted in eight countries on four continents over the past half century yielding over 30,000 correlational pairings for various genetic relationship categories. According to the authors, "considering only *ranges* of the observed measures, a marked trend is seen toward an increasing degree of intellectual resemblance in direct proportion to an increasing degree of genetic relationship, regardless of environmental communality." In addition, Erlenmeyer-Kimling and Jarvik noted that "for most relationship categories the *median* of the empirical correlations closely approaches the theoretical value predicted on the basis of genetic relationship alone."

All in all, the evidence from twin and family studies indicates that psychical traits are inherited to about the same extent as physical traits and that from two-thirds to three-quarters of the individual differences in intelligence test performance can be attributed to genetic factors.

II

The effect of selection upon psychological traits has been most clearly demonstrated in experiments correlating genotype and behavioral phenotype in a variety of animal populations. Selective breeding experiments, for example, have produced large and significant behavioral differences between strains of animals which were initially identical (Fuller and Thompson 1960 and Tryon 1942). In other experiments, selection of animal strains for physical characteristics has frequently been accompanied by changes in some behavioral traits.[1] Fuller (1957) interprets these

[1] John L. Fuller and W. Robert Thompson, *Behavior Genetics,* Wiley, New York, 1960, pp. 219-222; W. L. Lewis and E. J. Warwick, "Effectiveness of Selection for Body Weight in Mice," *Journal of Heredity,* Vol. XLIV, 1953, pp. 233-238.

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results as suggesting that "the total genotype interacting with environment is involved in psychological development just as it is in physical development" and that, "ultimately, both aspects of development must rest upon the same organic substratum.[2]

Associations of physical and behavioral traits are not limited to animal populations. Rife (1954 and 1956) has conducted a series of experiments on hybrid populations which have demonstrated associations between fingerprint patterns and skin pigmentation in Northern Sudanese Negroids and American Negroids, and associations between fingerprints and ability to discriminate between weights among Indian Goans and South African Colored populations. Rife interprets these findings as suggesting linkage between genes responsible for fingerprints and skin pigmentation, and between fingerprints and ability to discriminate between weights. He recommends further such research on hybrid populations for workers interested in "tackling the problem as to whether or not ethnic groups differ in mental capacities.[3]

Kurth (1959) also suggests that, as a result of genetic linkage (pleiotropic effects of genes, linkage of certain gene groups on the same chromosome), selection for physical traits may have brought about frequency differences in the distribution of behavioral traits in different racial groups, Coon (1959) stresses the differential effect of selective forces in genetically isolated populations as a prime factor in bringing about racial differences in psychical traits. According to Coon (1959), the selective forces governing the raciation of man have operated in different directions and at different rates of speed in the different continents, so that "human evolution proceeded during the latter part of the Pleistocene at an accelerated pace, particularly among Caucasoids and Mongoloids of the Palaearctic region."

III

Psychologists have also concluded that genetical isolation, such as exists between American Whites and American Negroes, has led to statistical differences in the frequency of various behavioral phenotypes. Thompson (1957) notes that differences in background, attitudes and beliefs serve to restrict interbreeding between individuals, so that ". . . individuals of certain psychological types are more likely to mate with each other than with individuals of different psychological types." Thompson then concludes:

> Human groups must be demarcated not only by physical but also by psychological variables. . . . So long as psychological

[2] John L. Fuller, "The Genetic Base: Pathways Between Genes and Behavioral Characteristics," *The Nature and Transmission of the Genetic and Cultural Characteristics of Human Populations,* Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, 1957, p. 102.

[3] See also Rife (1961).

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characters depend on hereditary transmission, and so long as there is assortative mating with respect to these same characters, then we can expect to find genetically determined group differences.

In fact, the noted British anthropologist Sir Arthur Keith (1949) contended that "the primary marks of race are psychological," while the eminent Italian sociologist Corrado Gini (1961) recently wrote:

> In conclusion, the proposal that, in the classification of races, one should consider not only the physical and physiological traits but also the psychic and cultural traits as well, seems justified—particularly the propensity to labour and to accumulation, a characteristic which, in all seeming, is in part hereditary and which finds its measure in profit realised and in wealth accumulated.

Certainly the scientific evidence clearly indicates that the biological processes of race formation in man have produced racial differences in mental and behavioral traits as well as in physical traits (Fairchild 1947), and that race in all of its taxonomic meanings is a valid unit of classification for the study of psychological traits.

IV

In summary, available evidence indicates that the selective forces governing human evolution and raciation have brought about racial differences in psychical traits as well as in physical traits. Twin and family studies have provided evidence of a substantial genetic component in individual differences in mental and behavioral traits, and have further shown that psychological traits are inherited to about the same extent as physical traits. Animal experiments have shown that selection for psychological traits can bring about differences between genetic isolates in animal populations, and that selection for physical traits frequently produces correlated behavioral changes. The demonstration of linkage between physical and psychical traits in human populations indicates that selective forces could have produced racial psychological differences. Anthropologists have also stressed that differential selective pressure and genetic isolation have brought about frequency differences in the distribution of behavioral traits in different racial groups. Isolating mechanisms, such as assortative mating, have further operated to maintain and preserve racial psychological differences. Thus, race in all of its taxonomic meanings may be considered a valid unit of classification for the study of psychological traits.

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John L. Fuller, 1957, "The Genetic Base: Pathways Between Genes and Behavioral Characteristics," *The Nature and Transmission of the Genetic and Cultural Characteristics of Human Populations,* Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, pp. 103-104: "Now if human populations are like animal populations, genetic isolation should lead to statistical differences in the frequency of various behavioral phenotypes. If human populations are different from animal populations, the causes might be found in one or both of two conditions. (1) Selective agencies in all human cultures may be fundamentally alike in their effect upon psychological phenotypes. Selection can then be viewed as the agent which restricts psychological divergence between racial groups. (2) The great psychological gap between man and his mammalian relatives may involve emancipation of psychological development from the genetic influences operating in animals. Both alternatives appear unlikely.

David C. Rife, 1959, *Heredity and Human Nature,* Vantage Press, New York, pp. 117-118: "Dobzhansky and Ashley Montagu have pointed out that *Homo sapiens* is characterized by greater plasticity than any other living species. . . . This greater plasticity is a part of the genetic endowment of man. But unlike other genetic variations, it surely differs in degree from one group to another. American Negroes and American Indians have markedly different responses to the culture of the white man."

Curt Stern, 1960, *Principles of Human Genetics,* Freeman, San Francisco, p. 701: "There is no doubt that racial differences in psychological traits exist."

H. H. Newman, 1940, *Multiple Human Births,* Doubleday, Doran & Co., New York, p. 171.

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David C. Rife, 1961, "A Research Proposal for Unesco," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. II, No. 2, pp. 128-131.

Gottfried Kurth, 1959, "Rassengenese," *Anthropologie: A zu Z,* Fischer Bücherei, Frankfurt, pp. 177 and 180-181: ". . . Daneben muss

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weiterhin berücksichtigt werden, dass ganz verschiedene Merkmale genetisch miteinander verbunden sein können (z. B. Pleiotropie der Veilfachwirkung eines Gens, Koppelung von Genen entsprechend der Locusverteilung auf dem Chromosom) und so die natürliche Auslesebevorteilung eines einzelnen Merkmals so und so viele andere mit anreichern kann. . . . Abschliessend muss noch kurz auf Rassenunterschiede im Bereich des Verhaltens wie des Geistig-Seelischen eingegangen werden (Rassenpsychologie). Auch dieser Bereich unterliegt beim Menschen eindeutig der Vererbung. Er kann daher grundsätzlich nicht aus der Rassendefinition ausgeklammert werden. . . . Die rassentypischen Verhaltensweisen dürften dabei zu wesenlichsten Teilen mit durch Selecktionswirkung angereichert worden sein. . . . Daneben bestehen weitere auffällige Unterschiede etwa im Temperament, der Reaktionsbreite und dem Behauptungswillen, die erblich fixiert sind und jedem greifbar werden, der einmal über längere Zeit unter Menschen anderer Rasse gelebt hat."

Carleton S. Coon, 1959, "Race and Ecology in Man," *Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology,* Vol. XXIV, pp. 154-155.

William R. Thompson, 1957, "The Significance of Personality and Intelligence Tests in Evaluation of Population Characteristics," *The Nature and Transmission of the Genetic and Cultural Characteristics of Human Populations,* Milbank Memorial Fund, New York, p. 39.

Sir Arthur Keith, 1949, *A New Theory of Human Evolution,* Philosophical Library, New York, p. 377.

Corrado Gini, 1961, "Psychic and Cultural Traits and the Classification of Human Races," THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 239-240.

Henry Pratt Fairchild, 1947, *Race and Nationality,* Ronald Press, New York, p. 169: "If it is conceded that a community of origin, lying as far back as we know it does, has not prevented the development of readily distinguishable traits of the external physical body, this necessitates the tacit admission that it may also have resulted in important differences in mental and emotional equipment. If, on the other hand, it is insisted that community of origin must indubitably preclude any significant differences in contemporary types, then all we have to do is to follow the unity of origin a little further back—as could quite consistently be done—to discover that there are no significant differences between men and gorillas, chimpanzees, and even monkeys. There is no logical stopping point in that kind of argument."

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ZIMBABWE

By R. GAYRE OF GAYRE

The discussion of Great Zimbabwe and the related complexes of similar but less magnificent stone built structures elsewhere in the south of Rhodesia and the northern parts of the Transvaal has been carried on mainly by archaeologists. However, as this development must be seen, understood and evaluated in the light of the ethnological complexities of Africa, I have ventured to enter upon a discussion of the subject. What I have to say may well oppose the conclusions which have been reached by some archaeologists and the social anthropologists who support them without a full appreciation of the ethnology involved, but I believe that it enables us to arrive at a factual and rational understanding of the Zimbabwean structures. While entering this field of discussion primarily as an ethnologist who has made African ethnology a special study for some time, I am not entirely unaware of, or unsympathetic towards, the techniques and methods of the archaeologists, since I was first trained as an archaeologist under the late Professor V. Gordon Childe, who was, when all is said and done, one of our greatest prehistorians.

Great Zimbabwe consists of the ruins of a dry-stone built town and, on a rocky eminence overlooking it, another group of structures of a castle- or fort-like nature. Outside the walls of the town—which antiquarians labelled the "Temple," as they called the fort on the crags the "Acropolis"—there are other and later structures on a ridge lying between the two. Stretching southwards to the Limpopo, which forms the border between Rhodesia and South Africa, and penetrating into the Transvaal, other stone structures are found, although none of these is as imposing as those of Zimbabwe. There are also some stone buildings on the other side of Africa, in Angola, but these again are of an inferior character. Some idea of the interesting and imposing nature of the Zimbabwe ruins is given by the accompanying pictures.

After numerous antiquarian and archaeological disturbances —often not of too scientific a nature—and the vandalism perpetrated by gold and treasure seekers, the site of Zimbabwe underwent a series of excavations and restorations. The scientific reconstruction of the later and more careful work has not been able to make good the damage, and much which would have been perfectly clear and definitive now remains in doubt. Thus the archaeological evidence is much less reliable than would normally be the case, and this is an additional reason for stressing that the

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interpretation of the origin of Zimbabwe must comply more than would normally be necessary with the scientific requirements of other disciplines such as ethnology—although at no time can archaeology be interpreted entirely on its own without regard to the requirements of the other sciences bearing on the history and development of human communities.

To illustrate the kind of things which have happened at Zimbabwe it might be pointed out that even in this century, after the cruder disturbances of earlier periods, Hall—between 1902 and 1904—removed three layers of stratification which contained pottery fragments, iron weapons and tools, gold and copper ornaments, stone bowls, and Persian, Indian and Chinese articles such as glass beads. Later, in 1905, Randall-MacIver carried out some archaeological investigation, probably of a more scientific character. It was not, however, until Dr Caton-Thompson worked on the site in 1929 and again in 1958 that much more exacting standards were established for the work done there. Therefore, owing to the general disturbance and the careless character of the early work, the archaeological record alone is sadly lacking in the evidence needed to settle the horizon and provenance of this monument.

Dr Caton-Thompson herself came to a ninth century A.D. date for Zimbabwe, based upon the accumulated evidence of fourteenth or fifteenth century Chinese Ming celadon fragments found in the early occupation levels in the great enclosure, a Persian bowl probably of the thirteenth century, Indian glass beads thought to be ninth century, and the discovery of two pieces of timber used as the lintel of a drain for which Carbon 14 datings of 591 and 702 A.D. $\pm$ 100 years were obtained.

Excavations were also carried out in 1958 by Messrs K. R. Robinson and R. Summers. Working in the fort above the town, the so-called "Acropolis," they found charcoal from the hearths of the early inhabitants from which they obtained radio-carbon datings. They concluded that on the hill, where they say the earlier levels are older than those in the town below, there were five periods of occupation: the first period ended and the second began in the fourth century A.D., the third period—when the first of the stone walls were built—began about 1100, and the fourth period began during the fifteenth century.[1]

A movement of thought has now developed which seeks to show that Zimbabwe was essentially a product of the Negro Bantu mind—a result essentially attributable to the Negroes. In the course of the argument every effort is made to minimise alien

[1] *Guide to the Zimbabwe Ruins* by Neville Jones, revised by Roger Summers, Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, Bulawayo, 1960, p. 7.

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VIEW OF GREAT ZIMBABWE FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

INSIDE THE NORTH-WEST ENTRANCE AT GREAT ZIMBABWE

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elements discoverable at the sites, and a strong desire is shown to shift the dating to as late a date as possible—obviously to coincide with the Bantu settlement in Rhodesia from the north, since the Negroes, as is well known, are relatively late comers to Rhodesia and decidedly new arrivals, in a historical sense, in South Africa. As part of this trend, all pottery sherds, other than the obviously intrusive ones from Asia, are called "African." While most people will take this to mean that they are of Bantu or Negro origin, this is not necessarily the case. Such sherds might well be African, but there are many other races besides the Negroes in Africa, some of which—such as the Cappoids—are more African in many respects than the Negroes, certainly in this eastern half of Africa.[2] The modern representatives of the Cappoids are the Hottentots and Bushmen, who were in fact the normal inhabitants of Rhodesia and the Transvaal at the time when the first levels at Zimbabwe were being established, and still were the normal inhabitants of the southernmost part of Rhodesia and of the area in the northern Transvaal bordering on the Limpopo at Mapungubwe which has a Carbon 14 dating of 1058 ± 65 years and where the skeletons of the inhabitants are said to be Hottentot in character. The term "African" is therefore far too vague an expression to use in this context.

The foundations of the hut circles found within the enclosures

[2] By Cappoid is meant a stock which is now represented by the Hottentots and the Bushmen. They have yellow skin, high cheek bones, a high incidence of the epicanthic fold, and slanting eyes. The Bushmen are of short stature, heavily built for their size, and have broad faces. Many have broad skulls, and those which are not broad tend to be pentagonoid in shape. Although some who are markedly brachycephalic may be seen, the majority are in fact dolichocephalic. It is my view that the original Cappoids arose from a cross between the Mongoloids and the Australoids, somewhere in Asia. In the course of time the broad skull—which would be dominant—has tended to be bred out. Peppercorn hair is a particular Cappoid trait, perhaps arising from a mutation, as is the general steatopygy (enlarged buttocks) of the women. The Hottentot ancestors (of this generalised stock) crossed with the Hamites in the north of Africa. This gave them taller stature and affected their language so much that it has often been classified as Hamitic. The languages of the existing Cappoids are called Khoisan, and this word is also used for their culture. The Cappoids are a racial breed, comparable to the Hamites, and breed true in most characters—except for some polytypy already referred to in connection with skull shape. Professor Dart looks to later Mongoloid intrusions into Africa to account for the brachycephaly. While some of it may be due to that cause, it is my opinion that it comes mainly from an ancient Mongoloid crossing which produced the Cappoids in the first instance. The Andaman Islanders arose in a similar way through the crossing of Mongoloid and Australoid stocks. While they are mainly brachycephalic, however, they are much less Mongoloid in their other characters. The differences of geographical—apart from random—selection probably account for the difference between the Bushmen and the Andamanese.

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at Zimbabwe are alleged to be typically Bantu. This, however, proves nothing at all. The Bantu occupy circular huts, but any primitive people who have ceased to be hunting and pastoral and have come to be at least partially settled will tend to do the same, since it is by far the easiest form of construction. Thus the presence of circular huts neither proves nor disproves Bantu association. In fact, as I will show, there is good reason to believe that Bantu, apart from Cappoids and others, were likely to have lived in Zimbabwe, but not as the dynamic force behind its building. Therefore even the finding of Bantu hut circles or Bantu artefacts does not establish the Bantu character of the edifices.

Another argument which I think can be successfully disposed of, and which will be treated at length later, is the suggestion that the tradition of dry-stone wall building has survived among the Bantu. I will show that it is restricted to the Venda and their relations (such as the Roswi) and the Jagas of Angola, and that all these people are the heirs of a non-Bantu culture in respect of this activity. Nowhere else among the Bantu are there any active or considerable evidences of ability to build by dry-stone walling. Thus it is very special pleading, amounting almost to the ridiculous, to bring in allusions to the remnants—if they exist—of such techniques among the Vendas, Roswis, Jagas, and tribes related to them, all of which are small tribes representing a very small minority of all the Bantus stretching from West Africa, the Niger and Congo to Kenya and southwards to South Africa. Indeed it might even be justifiable to go further and say that it is patently dishonest special pleading brazenly to make this statement in such a way that the uninformed might well conclude dry-stone building to be a normal activity among a large number of Bantu tribes. Another point which is pertinent is that if the Bantu were capable of creating the Zimbabwean culture why, except for these vestigial stone building tribes, did they lose the art of dry-stone walling altogether?

The stone bird associated with Zimbabwe—well known as the crest in the coat of arms of Rhodesia—is said to be similar to Bantu bird symbols carried for protection from lightning and for other purposes perhaps connected with their chiefs. Even if this were accepted as established, which it is not, it would prove nothing, as there is no means of dating these bird "standards" which might be contemporary with the later stages of Zimbabwe or of more recent origin. On the other hand, since the ceremonial use of the bird (falcon) symbol has found its way to the Akan of Ghana from Ancient Egypt,[3] there is no reason why the bird of Zimbabwe might not be of the same origin by way of Punt (the

[3] *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt* by Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, Faber and Faber, London, 1960.

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southernmost end of the Red Sea) and Arabia, whether it is contemporary with or subsequent to the building of Zimbabwe. Nothing whatsoever can be founded on the evidence of the occurrence of this symbol at Zimbabwe, for any theory that is based on this is open to other guesses and hazardous suggestions also. Only would it be of assistance if it formed one of a long series of parallels the total weight of which amounted to presumptive evidence. But it does not form part of such a series, and therefore at this stage in our knowledge it makes no contribution one way or the other to the solution of the problem.

Zimbabwe was earlier taken to be of great antiquity, going back to pre-Christian times. When this could not be proved, an earlier dating than that now accepted was sustained by the discovery of the wooden lintels which gave dates of 591 and 702 A.D. ± 100 years.[4] This at least seemed to establish a reasonable date for the building of the walls at Zimbabwe. In fact this was, and to some limited extent still is, a major obstacle to the idea of a very late date for Zimbabwe, and so various arguments have been brought forward to explain how a piece of wood which is 1300 years old could have been incorporated into a building said to have been erected 800 years ago. It has been pointed out that the wood came from a tree the sap of which is poisonous; that the Bantu leave the tree to die before they use the wood, and so they felled a tree 500 years old to use its timber in the building in or about 1100. This story is not very rational, as it is unlikely that a tree would still be standing 500 years after it had died if its wood was used for any building purposes because of its particularly hard properties. In the absence of any good stratigraphy it may even be that we cannot with confidence accept the dating of the town walls with those with which they have been associated in the more scientific excavations in 1958 on the "Acropolis" overlooking them. But suppose we accept the correlation, as for the purpose of this paper I have, although no one can be too happy about such matters so far as Zimbabwe is concerned; then the obvious explanation is that this timber must have come out of a building existing on the site before the erection of the walls, and it was utilised because its hardness had enabled it to survive. Stone building is usually preceded by wooden building. For instance, Stonehenge was preceded by Woodhenge, and the Norman keeps of England, built on their *motes*, were preceded in many if not in all cases by wooden castles. It is therefore probable that before the stone walls of Zimbabwe were erected there were wooden stockades, of which this timber was part. As a dead tree is not likely to stand for more than a century,

[4] According to *Science*, Vol. CLXVI, No. 3028, December 1962, the dating is between 471 and 711 A.D.

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especially in the vicinity of a settlement of this kind which is using wood for building as well as for charcoal for household use and, as there is reason to believe, also for metal smelting, we may conclude that some date between approximately 650 and 850 A.D. can be given to the wooden erections on the site before the stone walls were begun.

It will thus be seen that there is every probability of continuity of planning and intention from the earlier period into the later one during which the stone walls were erected, and this sets us a date well before the arrival of the Bantu—at least in such numbers that they occupied the country. Probing attacks may well already have occurred by this date, necessitating the erection of stockades, just as much more formidable ones later would necessitate the re-building of the defences in stone.

In an effort to establish the Bantu origins of Zimbabwe some have shown the ground plan of the town (the so-called "Temple") of Zimbabwe side by side with that of the Lyangamba of the Paramount Chief of Barotseland.[5] There is certainly a resemblance, although certain features—such as the series of inner defences—are missing from the Rotse kraal, and the interior structures are built up against the exterior wall, which is not the case at Zimbabwe. It might indeed be observed that Zimbabwe is rather in the form of a maze. When all the walls were standing and the interior was full of hutments with their own enclosures, anyone entering from the north would have had considerable difficulty in finding his way. There seems little doubt that these interior walls were built for the purpose of defence, and one of the advantages of their arrangement was the confusion of any attackers who broke in.

If it is permissible to use ground plans to try to establish ethnic connections we should not overlook the fact that E. M. Loeb has used this method to draw attention to the similarity of the Ondjiva kraal of King Uejulu in Angola—as well as the one-family kraal of the Kuanyama tribesmen, and the Ambo kraals in general—to the ground plans of Zimbabwe and of the temple of Marib in the Yemen. He goes on to suggest[6] that

> some parts of the prototype of the almost round, labyrinthic, wood-stockaded kraal of South West Africa, where there is no stone suitable for building, may have first entered East Africa from Arabia, together with Arabian cattle; presumably such a structure did not come from North Africa, since the Nilotic

[5] *The Prehistory of Southern Africa* by J. Desmond Clark, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1959, p. 291.

[6] *In Feudal Africa* by Edwin M. Loeb, Indiana University, Indiana, and Mouton and Company, The Hague, 1962, pp. 11 and 14.

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tribes did not have this feature. . . . Recent studies suggest that the Kuanyama brought the ground plan of the labyrinthic stockaded kraal and the high cultural elements associated with it from South Rhodesia. In 1948 I wrote, "The Ambo kraal appears as a wooden model of the Zimbabwe stone fortified city." In apparent agreement with this observation Fuller said in 1952: "The Rhodesian walled habitations, constructed of natural rock with dry mortar technic at some undetermined date by an unknown people, find a modern counterpart of floor plan in the present habitations of the Ovambo and other peoples of southern Angola and the northwestern part of South West Africa."

Certainly, on the face of it, the ground plan of Zimbabwe has more relationship to the Ambo krall layouts that to that of the Rotse kraal, and the fact that the Ambo kraals can even be considered to have similarities to southern Arabian layouts is more than interesting—indeed it is signficant, as we shall see later.

However, I am not dismissing the identification of some common relationship between Zimbabwe and the Rotse kraal, but it is less clear than the resemblance of Zimbabwe and the Ambo layouts. Furthermore, the occurrence of some similarity between the ground plans of Zimbabwe and the Rotse kraal does not establish that the former is an outgrowth of the Rotse formation and so of the Bantu culture.

It is significant that the Ambo are among those tribes recorded by Professor Dart[7] as having Armenoid features, which means that they have Caucasoid blood. As will be shown later, this is a common character in all those tribes which show indications of Zimbabwean culture. The inference is that the layout of the Rotse kraal is derived from Zimbabwe and not that Zimbabwe's architecture is of Rotse or Bantu origin.

It will be noticed that the main grounds which have been advanced at one time or another for a Bantu origin of Zimbabwe are flimsy and do not stand up to searching examination. Having therefore established that there is no basis for automatically accepting a Negro origin for the Zimbabwean cultures we are forced to consider the whole problem systematically, primarily on an ethnological basis, to see how far the facts and probabilities can be elucidated.

First of all, therefore, we must consider the dates given for the first Zimbabwean settlements. Great Zimbabwe itself belongs to a period commencing before the fourth century A.D. and culminating

[7] "Racial Origins" by Raymond A. Dart, in *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa* edited by I. Schapera, Maskew Miller, Cape Town, 1959, p. 14.

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with the building of the first walls in about 1100. During the first part of this period there were no Bantu in this part of Africa.[8] This is known because the evidence shows that a Bantu population explosion occurred (probably due to the introduction of new plants, such as bananas, yams, cocoa yams and sugar cane, brought to Africa by the Malays) which caused them to expand from the Congo towards the Ethiopian frontiers from which, thrown back by the Hamites, they were compelled to migrate southwards through Kenya to Tanganyika and ultimately into Zambia, Malawi and Rhodesia, reaching South Africa quite late. In the course of this movement they overwhelmed the Cappoids who were settled in eastern Africa, and so as we pass progressively southwards the Cappoid elements in the present-day Bantu Negroid populations tend to increase, although there are some exceptions to this generalisation. As we reach the southern extremities of the Bantu conquests the "Hottentot" click begins to appear in their speech, and indeed the further south we go the greater the number of clicks we find among those tribes which absorbed it into their linguistic system. The adoption of so difficult a form of speech can only be explained on the basis of their having captured Hottentot and Bushman women, particularly the former, and their children—as is the custom of the Bantu after killing the men of a defeated group—and amalgamated them with themselves, so that the nursing mothers were able to transmit this peculiarity of speech to their half-caste children.

At the time Zimbabwe was founded, however, the Hottentots and their related peoples were almost alone in possession of the land. When the Dutch on settling at the Cape discovered them, the Hottentots were a pastoral people. Although they were not iron workers they were acquainted with the metal and used and valued it, so they traded with the Dutch for it. The people who occupied Rhodesia in the fourth century A.D. or earlier, and those to the north of them in Tanganyika and Kenya, were probably equally knowledgeable, having derived this knowledge from the

[8] Although the whole country was generally in Hottentot occupation before the Bantu immigration from the north, it is possible that there was a thin line of Bantu settlement along the Zambesi from Katanga and the Congo. Two considerations encourage this view. First, the Zambesi area has a darker, more Negroid, population than the regions away from the river to the north or south. However, as there must be a steady percolation of Negroid genes down the Zambesi from the Congo, this greater Negroidity might have occurred since the Bantu immigration. The second consideration is that the plants—bananas, yams, cocoa yams and sugar cane—brought by the Indonesians which caused the population explosion of the Bantu in the Congo had to reach them across a country still occupied by Hottentot pastoralists who were not interested in agriculture. A chain of agricultural settlements from the coast of Mozambique to the Congo would be essential for the use of these new plants to spread westwards. A line of Bantu settlements along the Zambesi seems to provide the solution.

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advanced Hamites to their north before the Bantu had arrived in any numbers in those parts—except perhaps in the north-west of Kenya. Pottery of the middle of the first millennium A.D. found in the whole of this considerable region must be attributed to the Cappoids and not to the Bantu. This pottery is called Stamped Ware, and is the type found in the earliest levels at Zimbabwe. Therefore we can safely conclude that the earliest associations of this site were with a Cappoid people. However, even if this is held to be non-proven, it can be said that the evidence from Mapungubwe on the Limpopo conclusively establishes that the earliest inhabitants of that site were Hottentots, and there is no reason to believe the situation was any different at Zimbabwe.

By about 1400 a new kind of pottery known as Ruin Ware appears at Zimbabwe. This is probably Bantu, as will be shown later. But this does not prove that the Bantu were the architects of Zimbabwe, any more than their presence in the mines of the Rand confers upon them the right to claim to be responsible for those enterprises, although of course they work in them. The mere fact that Bantu pottery is found at Zimbabwe is no evidence that this and related monuments are to be attributed to the genius of Bantu culture.

According to K. R. Robinson and Roger Summers, the first of the stone walls had already been erected by about 1100—a date before the appearance of the so-called Ruin Ware, and one at which the Hottentot influence is still very clear in the evidence from the Mapungubwe site. Therefore the building of the stone walls must be attributed to a time before there was marked Bantu influence at Zimbabwe. This is also the period when the walls were built in one of which the wooden lintel was placed. Assuming that there was in fact a wooden prototype, as seems highly probable, then this wooden fortification had already been erected some time between the fourth century A.D. and 1100, which must have been a purely Hottentot period before the first arrival of the Bantu in the neighbourhood.

The original occupation of the craggy mount above the town could well have been for safety from animals as much as from men. But by the time stockades of any substance were erected, requiring the difficult felling of hard wood, the defences were against more serious foes, and by the time stone walls were built the dangers had become very real and pressing.

Thus may be seen a development from the time when there were small settlements requiring little or no defence to the period about 1100 when dry-stone walls had to be built. When we realise that this was the period when Bantu elements began to appear among the prevailing Hottentots at Mapungubwe,[9] it seems self-

[9] *Mapungubwe* by Guy A. Gardner, J. L. van Schaik, Pretoria, 1963, p. 91.

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evident that the walls were erected as defences against the newcomers—the Bantu.

During the fifteenth century, according to Robinson and Summers, the present walls were constructed in a final effort to strengthen the defences. This seems to coincide with the fourth phase at Mapungubwe, dated by Captain Gardner between 1300 and 1450, when the Bantu overran the mixed population (with a Hottentot base). Even if somewhere about 1400 is the median date arrived at for the evidence at Zimbabwe, I suggest that this might well be put a century earlier as there is a fairly large margin of error in Carbon 14 dating. If so, progressive strengthening of the walls of Zimbabwe went on until about 1300, after which it too, in its turn, was overthrown, perhaps between 1400 and 1500. I would be inclined to suggest that Zimbabwe probably collapsed about the end of the fifteenth century.

Thus far I have considered the "African" aspects of Zimbabwe —and for that matter of Mapungubwe. Earlier I made it clear that I do not believe that these structures arose out of the genius, culture or organising and engineering abilities and instincts of the Negroid Bantu, and I have shown that there is no evidence of any real tradition of dry-stone building among the Bantu, except in a very restricted group of tribes whom I hope to demonstrate obtained it from non-Bantu sources.

If we consider the outside influences which seem to be relevant —although not all of them will necessarily have been directly responsible for any aspects of the Zimbabwean civilisation—it will be realised that Rhodesia was not some very remote region which was quite out of touch with the rest of the world. Indian beads of the ninth century found at Zimbabwe, and other Indian artifacts as well as Persian and Chinese ones of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries discovered there, all witness to non-African connections.

When we turn to historical documents we find that these influences are confirmed. From the earliest times the Egyptians and Phoenicians had traded first with Punt (the countries at the southern end of the Red Sea) and then beyond both to the south and to the east. One Phoenician voyage is believed to have circumnavigated Africa.

In Romano-Greek times, early in the Christian era, fleets regularly sailed to and from India. Ships called at Mogadishu (Serapion) and Ras Hafun (Opone) in Somalia, at Lamu on the Kenyan coast, at the islands of Pemba and Zanzibar, and at a port called Rhapta on the Rufiji or the Pangani River near Dar es Salaam in Tanganyika.

What is of great importance is that these ports were in the hands of Arabs who were subject to Mocha in the Yemen, and

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they were really part of Saba or Sheba. The whole coast was governed by Kariba-Il (Charibael), a Sabaean king whose capital was at Zafar (Saphar) and who ruled between 40 and 70 A.D. As will be seen later, the Sabaean kingdom went through a series of vicissitudes including a Jewish dynasty and conquest by Ethiopia in the sixth century A.D. which must have sent many more Arabs overseas to the African colonies and outposts. Meanwhile, the commanding position which Ethiopia enjoyed for a short time allowed this Semitic-Hamitic power the opportunity to develop interests along the east coast and further south.

Cosmas of Alexandria, surnamed Indiopleustes, the Indian navigator, wrote a heterodoxical geographical work in the sixth century A.D. in which he made some observations concerning Ethiopia. He tells us that the name of the adjacent (Indian) ocean is Zingion—a name we shall shortly meet again as that of the Negroes.[10] We are told that beyond this sea in the land called Sasos there were many gold mines. Furthermore we are told that the Ethiopian King of Aksum was active in the trade for this gold: that it took six months to go and return from Sasos, and that it was winter there when it was summer in the northern hemisphere—which leaves no doubt that Sasos must have been appreciably south of the equator for this fact to be observed; that is to say somewhere about Mozambique in latitude. Assuming the king's emissaries covered only thirty miles a day, then a little over three months would have brought them from the modern borders of Ethiopia to those of Mozambique. As the Ethiopians are famous cavalrymen they could have made the journey much quicker than this. But as they probably travelled by sea the journey could have been done in two months. Professor Dart rightly believes that Sasos refers to Rhodesia.[11]

He is also right to draw attention to the fact that this account mentions that oxen were bartered for gold, as this no doubt partly explains the spread of Abyssinian cattle to the south of Africa. Certainly Dr Schapera[12] looks to north-eastern Africa as the place of origin of the Hottentot cattle.[13]

[10] Actually it is doubtful whether Zing originally meant specifically Negro. It was probably a general term for all Melanoids beyond the Sudan and Ethiopia. It would therefore include Nilotics as well as Hamites such as the Somalis, apart from the earliest Bantu Negroes who were beginning to arrive in big numbers in Uganda and Northern Kenya, perhaps between the third and sixth centuries A.D. As time passed the Bantu penetrated further and further south until most of the Black people on the coast were Bantu Negroids, by which time Zing meant solely Negro.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

[12] *The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa* by I Schapera, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1960, pp. 292-293.

[13] The bartering of cattle for gold does not mean that the gold mining was solely in the hands of the Khoisan (Hottentots). There is no doubt that

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As Professor Dart has shown,[14] the Arabs had spread down the whole east coast of Africa as far as Sofala in Mozambique. This coastland was the land of the Zing or Negroes, whom they also called Kaffirs or unbelievers. Arab geographers such as Masudi, 912 A.D., Idris, 1154, and Yakut, 1179-1229, make it clear that there were also other people to the south of Zing called the Wak-Wak (a name taken by some modern scholars to refer to peculiarities of Khoisan speech) who must have been Bushmen, or more probably Hottentots if my view is correct. Professor Dart considers that the meeting place of the Negro Bantu and the Cappoids was somewhere in the vicinity of Sofala or Lourenço Marques. This might well have been the case by the thirteenth century but is not likely to have been so earlier—unless the Negroes made greater progress along the coastal belt than they did inland—because Mapungubwe, on the Limpopo, was still in Hottentot occupation at this time.

The history of the Arab exploration of the East African coast, and of the reasons for the establishment of their settlements, has largely been lost through the passage of time. But we have sufficient information to make it quite clear that this settlement occurred on a considerable scale. Professor Dart regards two Arab chiefs of Oman, the brothers Suleiman and Said, as having been largely responsible for the settlements, as they led a migration to the "Land of Zing" about 695 A.D. But this was probably not the earliest of these settlements. There may have been a migration from Saba in Arabia in the sixth century A.D., and according to tradition Abdul Malik, in whose reign the two chiefs of Oman fled from Arabia, built no less than 32 towns between Mogadishu in Somalia and the Comoro Islands to the south. Thus it looks as though the east coast as far south as the Madagascar Channel was already being settled before the movement led by Suleiman and Said began. It is interesting to note that Abdul Malik brought Syrian craftsmen to help in building the towns, so the Caucasoid blood brought to Africa at this time included not only darker Mediterranean Arabs but the quite fair Mediterraneans, often with Nordic and Armenoid admixtures, who are characteristic of Syria.

Besides those already mentioned there were Arab settlements at such places as Lamu, Malindi, Gedi and Mombasa on the coast of Kenya, at several places in Tanganyika, and as far south as Sofala in Mozambique which was already flourishing in or about the tenth century. At Gedi a whole town has been brilliantly excavated by Mr Kirkman of the Fort Jesus Museum in Mombasa,

they learnt to work surface sites in order to trade the gold with the mining enterprises controlled from places such as Zimbabwe, or with any others who had valued goods to offer.

[14] *Op. cit.*, p. 3 ff.

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and large quantities of Indian and Chinese pottery have been found, dating from about the sixteenth century. At Malindi there is an ancient Arab settlement the mosque of which is said to be twelfth century.

In addition to the Arabs their near relations the Persians were equally as active. The Kilwa Chronicles tell us that in 975 A.D. the Persians founded a settlement at Kilwa in Tanganyika. The Sultan Hassan of Shiraz sailed for the east coast of Africa with seven ships, only one of which, commanded by his son Ali whose mother was an Abyssinian slave, reached Kilwa. This was the foundation of a state which survived until the Portuguese arrived.[15]

Several navigational factors of outstanding importance were involved in the foundation of these settlements by Arabs, Persians and others on the coasts of East Africa.

The first of these concerns the type of ship. The earlier ships had square sails and so were dependent upon running before a following wind. But the Arabs, even at the beginning of the Christian era, used lateen sails. With this rig they could sail much closer into the wind than was possible in any other early craft. They could reach within about five points of the wind—say approximately 60 degrees. That is, directions within 60 degress each side of that from which the wind was blowing were not practical for them, but they could sail in any direction within the remaining 240 degrees of the circle—as against only about 150 degrees with the earlier rigs. Furthermore the Arab dhow was not only the most efficient but the fastest vessel of its time. Indeed it still remains highly efficient as well as one of the fastest sailers even today, as anyone who has seen dhows entering Zanzibar, Tanga and other East African ports will fully appreciate. The Arabs were thus better equipped for long distance ocean travel than were most of their rivals.

Another factor of prime importance is the wind and current system off the east coast of Africa. Basically this consists of a north-east monsoon and a south-west monsoon. With the aid of the former the Arabs could without difficulty sail down the east coast of Africa to near the borders of Mozambique or even a little further south. After sheltering in a port they could use the south-east trade winds to return northwards to the equator where the south-west monsoon would take them across the Indian Ocean to India and Ceylon. From there they could turn towards the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea with the north-east monsoon because they were able to sail sufficiently close to the wind.[16] The square-

[15] Raymond A. Dart, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[16] When Massoude visited Sofala in the tenth century he found that there was a thriving trade with Persia, India and China. This rather sug-

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rigged ships of that time could not have done this. Even the Chinese junk, a fairly efficient type of craft for those times, could not have sailed very close to the wind as its sails did not present a long luff (or front edge) to the wind, and the high superstructure must have caused a great deal of windage which would have carried them to leeward all the time they were sailing. Nevertheless Chinese junks could and certainly did reach the coast of Africa by running before the north-east monsoon, and the south-west monsoon enabled them to return, but their lesser efficiency in rig and shape would have made it difficult for them to reach Arabia.

Another navigational factor which has some direct bearing on this subject is that Mozambique lies at about the limit of safe, regular and easy voyages south. Beyond that the Agulhas current, flowing southwards sometimes at upwards of five knots, presents a formidable obstacle to sail against which would be virtually impossible for a fully laden vessel, and further south there are the cyclonic wind systems to contend with. Because of the latter the Cape of Good Hope was named the Cape of Storms by both the Portuguese and the Chinese Mariners.

Thus Sofala, the Arab settlement near the mouth of the Sabi river in Mozambique, was about the southernmost port of call—a remote outpost of the seaborne empire to which were brought the products of the Arab enterprises in the hinterland. The Arabs certainly did not venture so far just for the love of adventure but for the real profits which have interested merchant venturers in all ages.

However, before going on to deal with the products which were involved in the trade with East Africa it is advisable to consider the contacts this region had not only with the Arabs and Persians but with people from more distant countries such as India, Java and China.

Idris, the twelfth century Arab writer, tells us of the arrival at Sofala of people from eastern Asia. The home ports of some of these people are likely to have been in Indonesia (Java) and Cambodia. It was this contact and trade which had led much earlier, no doubt right at the beginning of the Christian era, to the settlement of Indonesians in Madagascar.[17] By the tenth century Masudi mentions Chinese trade with Africa, and in the eleventh century Alberuni says it had reached such proportions that it had affected the size of the Indian ports.[18] During the Mongolian period of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and in the Ming period from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century,

gests that one trade route was across the Indian Ocean to Indian ports and then either north to Persia or south and eastwards to China. Although Sofala was remote from Arabia it lay on one possible route to the East.

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the Chinese were trading as far south as Madagascar. So large was this trade that Professor Dart thinks, with some reason, that the slave traders were responsible for spreading Negroid types throughout the East Indies and as far as Melanesia, in the same way as they took them to the West Indies and America from the Guinea Coast. It was this slave trade, he thinks, which made the Bantu Swahili language the *lingua franca* of the Indian Ocean.

At first, for some centuries of the Christian era, Negro slaves could only have been taken from Kenya, as the Negroes or Zings had not reached Rhodesia or Mozambique, but as they penetrated further and further south it became possible to take them from the more southerly Arab ports. No doubt the Arabs brought black slaves south to work for them in the ports, and so indirectly helped to hasten the Bantu spread to the south and the bastardisation of the Khoisans—Hottentots and Bushmen—out of which have arisen the modern Bantu of much of eastern Africa.

The import of cotton goods must have provided an important trade interest in Africa at one time. Subsequently, however, they were manufactured in Rhodesia, for spindle whorls and charred cotton remains have been discovered at Zimbabwe. This can only be attributed to Arab, Persian or Indian influence, since cotton is not indigenous to Africa. Cotton was grown in the Indus Valley civilisation about 2500 B.C. but its earliest arrival in Egypt appears to have been about 600 A.D. When Vasco da Gama sailed around the coast of Africa in 1498 he found that, centuries before, the Arabs had taught the natives to grow and spin cotton.[19]

Although we find evidence at Zimbabwe that articles were brought by sea from as far away as China, India and Persia, as well as indications of cotton spinning which must have been introduced by the Arabs, we also know that African products were exploited and shipped overseas, probably down the Sabi river and through Sofala. The discovery of gold pellets and other gold objects in the ruins of the Zimbabwean civilisation proves that gold was being exploited there. Gold leaf has also been found at Zimbabwe—a fact which suggests that it was made locally. The ancient world had an inordinate demand for it as is quite evident from the antiquities of Europe, Egypt, India and China. The production of gold leaf is a highly technical task as an alloy of

[17] There are three racial strains in Madagascar and these, as in most racially mixed areas, have tended to develop into castes. The Arab element, which came across from Sofala and other places on the mainland, forms a noble caste at least in some places; the Indonesians comprise a middle class, and the Negroids are found in the lower classes. The language is Indonesian.

[18] Raymond A. Dart, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[19] "Cotton" by John Melvin Green, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, London, 1964, Vol. VI, p. 613.

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gold with either silver or copper has to be made before the skilled work of beating it can begin. This process was never discovered by the Zimbabweans—they were taught by skilled craftsmen who had to be on the spot to instruct them. It is interesting to note that the stone built sites of Rhodesia and the northern Transvaal coincide quite closely with the early gold fields of the region.[20] It should also be mentioned that Arab glass has been found at Zimbabwe as well as a good many golden objects.[21] This shows that active exploitation of the gold was taking place and indicates that the Arabs were associated in this trade.

Were this site in Europe, or anywhere else but in Africa where all thinking is dominated and clouded by highly charged emotionalism (based on resurgent and aggressive nationalism and supported by the racial egalitarianism of those who wish to appear "liberal"), it is inconceivable for anyone to doubt the direct Arab or other foreign association in the development of the culture in view of the transport over such long distances by sea and hundreds of miles by land of such delicate objects as Arab glass and Chinese Ming ware. It is unlikely that these articles could ever have been used simply for barter, as for this purpose traders need robust goods which take up little space. Vessels of such delicate construction that they needed special packing and care all the way would have been the last things the traders would have thought practicable, especially for trade with people they probably looked upon as savages.

Beads, bracelets and bangles—or in this case such things as iron lance heads, daggers and awls—have always been the traders' stock-in-trade, from the time when Egyptian faience beads were brought to Britain in the second millennium B.C. until Indian beads were taken to Zimbabwe in the ninth century A.D., and up till the nineteenth century when Birmingham-made cheap bead jewelery was used in central Africa by British traders. When a scyphus pot, apparently made in the city of Troy, turns up in the Thames,[22] no archaeologist is likely to say that it got there after passing through countless hands in all the rough and tumble of overland trade. It is readily conceded by most people that it must have been brought by sea, since such an article could not otherwise have been expected to survive. Such articles found at Zimbabwe were not, therefore, the usual traders' stock, nor did they creep inland from the coast, passed from hand to hand. They were carried as far as possible by ship or lighter so that they should survive the journey and then, after careful packing at the point of disembarkation, they were taken to the place where they were needed.

[20] *The Prehistory of Southern Africa, ut supra,* pp. 298 and 305.

[21] *Guide to the Zimbabwe Ruins, ut supra,* p. 35.

[22] *Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities,* British Museum, London, 1925, p. 90.

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They were not brought there at such fabulous cost to be traded to the natives, when beads and the like would have served even better, would have cost less to carry and were virtually indestructable. The only possible inference is that they were imported for people who knew their use, needed them, and were prepared to pay the high cost of bringing such fragile articles so far. Whatever was the native African population of Zimbabwe, first entirely Hottentot, and later Hottentot mixed with some Bantu elements, the conclusion seems inescapable that people from overseas also lived there directing the work and providing the dynamic force behind the exploitation of the gold, the maintenance of the settlements and their lines of communication, and ultimately their defences.

Beads of gold were fabricated at these places in Rhodesia and have been found at Zimbabwe, Khami and other sites. These were presumably made to facilitate transporting the gold in panniers to the coast or to the river-head, and would have had the advantage of being in a form easily accountable to their owners.

Point is given to the control which a coastal seaborne power exercised over this region of eastern Rhodesia by the fact that it is easy of access from the sea. To take Zimbabwe itself as a case in point, it has been shown[23] that the Sabi river was a chief means of transport to and from the coast, and that from Marambini, near the confluence of the Sabi and the Lundi rivers, there is a chain of small ruins suitably spaced for night stops for caravans between there and Great Zimbabwe. It is significant that eastward to the sea from Marambini there is not one such station. Furthermore, "many travellers in the south eastern corner of Southern Rhodesia have heard of the elusive rusted iron ring bolts hidden away in deep foliage on the sandstone cleft—an ancient wharf on Sabi's banks."[24] Irrespective of whether there is surviving evidence of such a wharf or not, all the facts indicate that Zimbabwe was part of a complex exploiting the goldfields of Rhodesia and linked to seaborne trade.

We are now in a position to envisage realistically the ethnological history of the Zimbabwean developments.

First of all Arab, Persian, Indian and Chinese traders reached the east coast of Africa and established a number of small ports which gradually extended as far south as Mozambique. It seems reasonable to assume that the Arabs were the most active in this, firstly because we are expressly told that they had a seaborne empire stretching south to Sofala, and secondly because it is they who have still left their mark at places on the Kenyan and Tangan-

[23] "River Transport for our Trade" by "Traveller," in the Rhodesian paper *The Chronicle*, 7th March 1952.

[24] *Idem*.

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yikan coasts, as well as at Zanzibar, Mogadishu and elsewhere —where existing buildings date back to the twelfth century and there were probably more primitive pioneering settlements much earlier. The inhabitants of these remaining settlements give us an ethnological pattern, for Islam has never maintained such a rigid colour-bar as Christianity, Judaism and Hinduism have done, and so in places like Mogadishu, Malindi and Zanzibar we see black Negroid Moslems (Swahili Moslems), black (partly non-Negroid) "Arabs," and fair Caucasoid Arabs. If this is the situation today in the areas of Arab influence on the east coast of Africa we have reasonable grounds for assuming that this must have been the ethnological pattern of their settlements at much earlier periods.

From these facts we can reason that shortly after the establishment of a settlement such as Sofala in Mozambique, quite early in the Christian era, the Arabs—at this time not yet Moslems—would begin penetrating inland on trading expeditions, until after some centuries they had made contact with the gold-bearing regions of Rhodesia. An immediate increase in trading activity would then have been bound to take place. The local inhabitants were Khoisans (Cappoids), probably of the Hottentot branch, and they have never shown any interest in working metals even when they knew of them and lived adjacent to metal users. It is therefore inconceivable that any exploitation of the rich gold resources of Rhodesia, ultimately involving mining to some considerable depths, could have been initiated by them. This work must have been started by the Caucasoid, probably Arab, pioneers. With their superior techniques, and having regard to the thinly populated nature of the country and the relative harmlessness of the Cappoids, only comparatively few Arabs would have been occupied in the interior. A network of communications would have been established to the coast, probably first to the highest navigable points on the rivers and thence by canoe or dhow to the sea.

Since the Arab economy was always based on slavery, and since they were already exporting Negroes from further north, it is highly probable that the first Bantu to arrive in Mozambique and Rhodesia were brought south by the Arabs as slaves and used in their entrepôts. Eventually, as half-castes crossed with the local Hottentots and perhaps with some Arab blood as well, they found their way into the small mining communities of Rhodesia. As time went on the Bantu slave element—pure-bred newly introduced slaves or cross-breds resulting from generations of slavery —would increase, and in due course a very high proportion of the populations of places like Zimbabwe would be Bantu. Thus we should expect what we do in fact find, either progressive

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Bantuisation of the Hottentots and crossing becoming more and more in evidence as seems to be the case from what can be ascertained at Mapungubwe on the Limpopo, or pottery and other artifacts becoming steadily more Bantu as at Zimbabwe.

However, this does not indicate that the Bantu had invaded and occupied Rhodesia by this time. The arrival of the Bantu invaders and settlers must be placed much later. They were first beginning to make a nuisance of themselves perhaps as early as about the eighth century A.D. when stockaded defences may well have been built round the town of Zimbabwe, although as the numbers of the Bantu raiders and invaders increased it ultimately became necessary by about 1100 to erect the stone walls. This dates the Bantu invasion of that area. The defences were obviously successful but as time went on they became more and more necessary and so were improved further in about 1400. By this time the civilisation, such as it was, reached its peak, and shortly afterwards it was extinguished as an Arab dominated settlement.

It has been argued that the stone building techniques used at Zimbabwe are too poor to have been the work of peoples advanced in technology such as were the Arabs. This cannot be accepted by anyone who has lived in isolation in an overwhelmingly "native" community anywhere. No matter how you plan, argue, cajole and teach, the final product is a compromise well below your own normal standards, but something the "native" would not have been able to achieve without all that effort on your part. Missionaries and planters in remote places—even in countries like India which are much more advanced than Africa in basic culture—tolerate standards of building, furnishing and other workmanship well below those of their own native background simply because this is the best a few Europeans in an overwhelmingly "native" milieu can achieve. That was exactly the situation at Zimbabwe.

Furthermore, as time went on, no doubt, these remote Arab settlers and traders had largely mixed with their own working population and "gone native," being occasionally reinforced by the arrival of a new supervisor or trader. The standards accepted would therefore be close to those of the native inhabitants, but the Arab element would ensure a use for and interest in certain wares from outside, so these would be imported from time to time and would be understood and appreciated.

Although they provided the dynamism behind the culture, many of these local Arabs and half-breeds—who at best would have been few in number—would never have been to Sofala, let alone Arabia. Therefore, when it came to building the stone walls they would have been only one step ahead of their labourers, and this would account, for instance, for the four "turrets" on the wall of

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the fort overlooking the town. They had seen drawings or heard descriptions of such turrets but hardly knew their use and so reproduced them in a quite useless form.

Likewise it is very doubtful if Arabs in Sofala, and certainly in Arabia, knew very much about such remote outposts of their own culture. Probably all that the Arabs in Sofala knew was that so-and-so came through to the coast fairly regularly with gold and ivory to sell, and that he occasionally bought a few luxury articles such as glass and porcelain ware before returning to the remote out-station where he mined the gold or his Arab contacts mined it to sell to him. This of course answers the demand some have made as to why Arab literature does not tell us of Zimbabwe.[25]

The first settlements on the coast would have been founded before the Arabs were Moslems, and it may well have been that in the interior in Rhodesia the veneer of Islam was very thin even at the end of the Arab phase—for Islam in many parts of Africa even today is a compound in which paganism bulks large. Moreover there is no reason for assuming that all their labour was proselytised, which would account for the finding of idols and phallic and other symbols. After all, phallic pillars have been found with graves at Gedi and Malindi on the Kenya coast where the Arabs were in close contact with their homelands, and so we must not expect better than that in regions quite out of touch with the main stream of Arab and Islamic life. It is significant that the modelled phalli found at Zimbabwe are circumcised—which is consistent with its having been an Arab dominated culture.

We get a glimpse of what life must have been like for the few Arab families and leaders in a place like Zimbabwe from Richard Francis Burton's account of Kazeh in Tanganyika—although it was much more intimately in touch with Arabic civilisation than the Rhodesian settlements could possibly have been. Alan Moorehead tells us that Burton reached Kazeh on the 7th of November 1857, and met the Arab traders settled in that remote interior Arab foothold:[26]

> There were about twenty-five Arab dealers living in Kazeh at this time, and they managed to keep up an outward show

[25] Actually we do not know that it does not, as it is very doubtful if modern scholarship knows a tithe of what still exists in Islamic manuscripts yet to be translated and published. In any case the literature tells us of the Arab empire stretching as far south as Sofala, which of course comprehended its hinterland. From the Arab point of view Zimbabwe would have been nothing to marvel at—except for its primitiveness—even if for the Bantu it was something quite metropolitan.

[26] *The White Nile* by Alan Moorehead, Dell Publishing Company, New York, 1963, pp. 41-42.

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of civilisation. Their houses, called *tembes,* were built of mud but were quite extensive buildings enclosing a central courtyard, with separate rooms for the domestic slaves and the harem. Fruit, vegetables and rice had been planted and in the bazaar most articles essential to East African trade were on sale, though at prices about five times higher than in Zanzibar.

At a time when the Arabs were overrunning Central Africa and huge caravans passed to and from the coast with its Arab settlements adjacent to the big centre of Arab civilisation in Zanzibar, if Arab traders in the interior were so few in number and still lived in mud huts, and all civilised wares were as costly as five times their normal price and must have been used very sparingly, how much more backward and lower a standard of living must have prevailed in the Rhodesian settlements? What we find at Zimbabwe is exactly what we should expect, and nothing more.

We are now able to trace the ethnological problems involved in the overthrow of these Arab-inspired settlements of Rhodesia. The mounting menace of the advancing Bantu was the obvious pressure which caused the increased defences to be erected. The defences have something in common with the dry-stone built brochs of the north and west of Scotland and the islands beyond. These great round towers have accommodation within the thickness of the walls with slits facing the circular interior courtyard, and are built so high that nothing could be thrown over the walls. Zimbabwe was built on exactly the same lines. The walls were impregnable against an enemy not armed with bows and arrows or firearms. Spears could not be thrown over them and so fire could not be used against the thatched huts inside. Sapping would be impossible as it would only bring down the outer face of the dry-stone wall on the sappers themselves. Like the Scottish brochs, it was the ideal defensive structure against an enemy armed only with spears. From this we must conclude that the walls of Zimbabwe were erected against a spear-throwing enemy —and that means the Bantu, who have never used bows and arrows in war, and some of whom do not use them even for hunting. Where the Bantu do use the bow in hunting it seems to be because they have adopted it from the Bushmen and other Cappoids whom they have overrun and absorbed in their advance southwards from the borders of Ethiopia.

The Arabs used swords and bows and arrows. In so far as they used the spear it was as a cavalry weapon which they would not, therefore, have used within the confines of a walled city— especially as in any case their numbers could not have been

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sufficient to make the use of the lance or javelin on horseback feasible. The Cappoids appear principally to have used bows and arrows—certainly the Bushmen do to this day. The Hottentots used spears more, but in war they opened all their exchanges with bows and arrows, and only resorted to spears at close quarters. This suggests that the bow and arrow was their primary weapon, supported—as in the case of the Bushmen also—by the *kirri* or throwing stick. In other words, in so far as it was Cappoid or Arab, the racial complex within these towns was one which would have relied primarily on missiles capable of a much greater range than that of the thrown spear. For them, therefore, these defensive positions from which they could use their bows and arrows and throwing sticks would be effective, while their attackers' weapon, the spear, would be ineffective.

To build such walls for defence, and there seems to be no other reason for them, would have been quite out of character for Bantu defenders—quite apart from the fact that stone building is not a Bantu characteristic in any case, as has already been explained. The Bantu use stockades to protect their cattle from marauding animals rather than to defend themselves against Bantu attackers. Their normal method of fighting is to meet the enemy as infantry in the field. The conception of "artillery" which the bow and arrow implies, as does the throwing stick also to some extent, is foreign to Bantu methods of warfare. Had Zimbabwe been a settlement of Bantu inspiration defended solely by Bantu occupants, walls would not have been built at such tremendous cost in labour as they were unnecessary for their method of warfare. They would also have been uneconomic because spears could not have been retrieved again as they can be when thrown in a charge, nor could the defenders launch their spears at an enemy immediately below the walls. But defenders using bows and arrows could not only get respite from the attackers—who could not launch their spears over the high walls, or even if they could the spears would not fall immediately behind the walls where the defence was mounted—but from the height of their walls they would be able to drive off the spear-throwers before they even had the defenders within range.

The great solid pillar or tower at Zimbabwe has created much speculation but it seems that it could only have been built as a lookout tower. If so, this monumental piece of building is also in accord with the defensive character of the Zimbabwe walls. Moreover, the whole defensive conception of the walls is consistent with the idea of Arab (Caucasoid) leadership assisted by a strong Cappoid element in the defence of the settlement against Bantu (Negroid) aggression.

What is equally telling when we consider the mammoth scale

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of these buildings is the fact that Bantu economy could not under any circumstances whatsoever have accomplished their construction. Apart from the Venda and others who have in a minor way continued the dry-stone walling technique, the Bantu as a whole depend solely on female labour. Under normal primitive conditions the men are warriors, hunters and idlers, and the women not only plant and reap but also build the very huts they live in—the men condescending only to put in the main posts which, even then, the women have to carry on their heads from the bush while the men who have chopped them down walk alongside unencumbered with any weight heavier than the tool they have used. A structure such as Zimbabwe is beyond the physical powers of women to erect and beyond the will of Bantu men to undertake. If Bantu men took part in the building, as they probably did, it was not as free labour but as conscript or slave labour under Arab and cross-bred Arab direction.

Besides the pressure of Bantu invasion there were two other reasons for the eventual termination of the Zimbabwean civilisation. The first of these was that by the time the culture came to an end the gold mines were reaching the limits of primitive exploitation. There was still plenty of gold left, and in fact many European mines have merely reopened existing abandoned workings, but the effort was becoming too great for the primitive industrial techniques available to the small Arab driving force and the unskilled and technologically backward labour they had at their disposal. The sites were becoming less profitable to the Arab exploiters and therefore less worth the effort of maintaining them in the face of increasing pressure. The second reason was that the possibility of maintaining or resuming the Arab hegemony over these towns and their mining exploits must have been finally destroyed by the arrival of the Portuguese off the coasts of eastern Africa. Vasco da Gama arrived in 1496, and Sofala—which was probably the port of Zimbabwe—was occupied by the Portuguese in 1505. This ended any possibility of continued Arab interest in Rhodesia, although some years before 1505 the Arabs had probably ceased to be able to maintain any trade contact with the interior.

Now we can take up the Portuguese record of what they found when they arrived on the coast. A paramount chief had emerged by that time whom the Portuguese called an "Emperor," and with whom they treated. Antonio Fernandes tells us that in 1506 there was an "Empire" ruled by a King Monomatapa who was building a stone capital without cement. Also in 1506, Diego de Alcaçova mentions Mokomba Menamotapam, father of the Kwesarimgo Menamotapam, who was then ruling over Vealanga, which included Sofala. We are told that the capital was called

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Zumubany, which is usually taken to be a corruption of Zimbabwe. In 1552 another Portuguese writer, de Barros, mentions a Zimboe, which seems to be a similar corruption.

The Portuguese accounts refer to this country and its people as Mocaranga, which means that the inhabitants were of the Karanga tribe. They also describe the ruler as a Mocaranga, that is, a Karanga. J. Torrend translates Monomatapa as "Lord of the Water Elephants," and he points out that the hippopotamus is still sacred to the Karanga.[27] By the following century, however, the power of this tribe and its ruler had been shaken by the rebellions of subject peoples. At that time the ruler's capital—his Zimbabwe—was near the fort at Masapa, just south of the Zambesi, where the Portuguese maintained a garrison. Whether this place was in fact the Zumubany mentioned in 1506 is uncertain. If it was the same it was not Zimbabwe.

At this point we should therefore pause to consider the meaning of the name Zimbabwe. At first it was generally accepted that the name in Bantu was Dzimba dza Mabgwe, "The House of Stone"—an apt name, and grammatically correct in, for instance, the Chikaranga language spoken by the people who inhabited this territory when the Portuguese arrived. It has been pointed out that the Bantu always name any place they are associated with after its use or purpose,[28] whereas if Zimbabwe means "The House of Stone" it is, in contrast to this practice, merely a description of its appearance. This throws further doubt on the possibility that Zimbabwe was ever a Bantu construction. It is not surprising, of course, that advocates of the Bantu origin of Zimbabwe should resist this meaning, and so various translations are now put forward such as "the chiefs' burial ground and the place of tribal intercession."[29] although the fact that no skeletal remains have been found at Zimbabwe—for whatever reason that may be—does not support this interpretation. Others have translated it as "The Chief's House." The linguistic authority behind these translations is doubtful and some of them look like tampering with the evidence to fit the theory of Bantu origin. In discussing Zimbabwe with one chief and his counsellors near Zimbabwe in 1964 all I could get from them was that it was the House of Stones—which appears to be consistent with the earlier translation of the name. However, if the name has any of these other meanings then there could have been many Zim-

[27] *Comparative Grammar of the South African Bantu Languages* by J. Torrend, 1891.

[28] "Traveller," *op. cit.*

[29] *The Concise Encyclopaedia of Archaeology* edited by Leonard Cottrell, Hutchinson, London, 1960, pp. 497-498.

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babwes, and the Portuguese reference to Zumubany does not necessarily mean Great Zimbabwe.

It has been asserted that the Monomatapa culture was in decline when the Portuguese arrived. This view can only be advanced if this culture is equated with the fourth and richest period at Zimbabwe which is said to have begun in the fifteenth century and could, on the tolerance of Carbon 14 dating, have been as early as the fourteenth century. If, as I believe, the fourth phase was fourteenth century, or very early fifteenth century, then there is no justification for equating the Monomatapa culture with the Zimbabwe fourth phase as it must have been later. This is consistent with the Portuguese statement that the Paramount was building his capital early in the sixteenth century. This time was a century—or probably as much as two centuries when we consider all the other related evidence—after the usually accepted date of the fourth phase, with the collapse of which it would coincide.

If Zimbabwe was overthrown by the Bantu, as I have suggested, then the Paramount and his Karangas must be associated with the destruction of the real Zimbabwean culture, and what he was building was a post-Zimbabwean series of buildings —if it be accepted that he was in fact building at Zimbabwe at all. This is consistent with what happened at Mapungubwe where the fourth phase (not to be equated with the fourth phase at Zimbabwe) is coincident with a Sotho Bantu invasion and is dated at between 1300 and 1450.

It has been argued that a stone building culture existed among the Bantu because some very small tribes still build, or until recently built, stone walls and stone kraal enclosures. I rejected this line of reasoning but in so doing did not reject the possibility of an association of these people with the Rhodesian stone building complex. As far as Rhodesia and South Africa are concerned these peoples are the Venda of the North Transvaal and the Roswi with whom it has been sought to associate them as evidence of the stone building traditions.[30] According to their own tradition the Venda came from Rhodesia. Moreover, the Venda were associated with the Mapungubwe site during its fifth phase which is dated between 1450 and 1750. Thus there seems little doubt that they are actually descended from people who had occupied the sites of these mining towns of Rhodesia.

The Venda are a peculiar people who differ from the rest of the Bantu in a quite distinct way. More than anywhere else in South Africa the chief and his clan are something apart from the rest of the tribe or the people over whom they rule. With few

[30] *A Guide to the Khami Ruins* by K. S. Radcliffe-Robinson, The Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics, Bulawayo, 1953, p. 5.

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exceptions the royal clans of the Venda are known to be genealogically related to each other. Most of them claim descent from Thoho-ya-Ndou, whose ancestors crossed the Limpopo from Rhodesia into South Africa and took possession of the country. It is they, the chiefly families, who are the real Venda people.[31] Although a secretive people who have retired from the main stream of contact with other people, they are for all that really only a royal dynastic caste ruling over subjects of mixed origin, some of whom are not even Venda speaking.

It should be observed that in the past it was customary for the other tribes to obtain their metal goods from the Venda. These were often made by the Lemba, but suffice it to note that the Venda had a metallurgical technology in advance of that of the other major tribes.

The Venda are thus not at all representative of the Bantu, and what stone building tradition they and their related peoples may possess does not establish any claim for the Bantu as a whole.

The Venda differ from the majority of the Bantu in many other respects also. For instance the only Bantu who have the Hottentot method of tuning flutes are the Venda, from whom it is said the neighbouring Sotho have taken it.[32] This indicates that they have had some association with the Hottentots.

The Venda also have a secret instrument, the only wind instrument with a vibrating reed found in South Africa.[33] They have a seven-note scale, the names of several of the notes of which "have a non-Bantu sound, again suggesting, as does the seven-note scale itself, foreign influence."[34] Moreover, the resonated xylophone is found among the Venda. This is known to have come originally from Malaya where it is still in use.[35] This suggests it is likely that the Venda had some kind of contact, either direct or indirect, with the coasts of East Africa. To all this may be added the fact that the Venda language shows Karanga origins. Furthermore, they show marked evidence of Caucasoid blood and, in particular, they have pronounced Armenoid features, as Professor Dart has pointed out.[36]

Thus we see that the small Venda tribe, which tends to form a royal caste ruling over peoples of other stocks, has its own

[31] "Grouping and Ethnic History" by N. J. van Warmelo, *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa, ut supra,* p. 64.

[32] "The Musical Practices of the Native Races of South Africa" by Percival R. Kirby, *The Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa, ut supra,* pp. 276-277.

[33] *Idem,* p. 277.

[34] *Idem,* p. 287.

[35] *Idem,* pp. 275-276.

[36] *Op. cit.,* p. 14.

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language of Karangan origin, possesses some dry-stone building and metallurgical techniques, is known to have been settled at one Rhodesian stone built site at least and claims to have come from Rhodesia, has musical links with the Hottentots and with the coastal influences coming from Malaya, and also has the Armenoid features frequently found among the Arabs and Jews. It therefore seems hard to escape the conclusion that the Venda are an offshoot of those Karanga who, by the time the Portuguese arrived, were already occupying dry-stone sites and doing something in the way of building a capital for themselves, no doubt from the stone already *in situ*. If this is the case, the fact that they have Hottentot relationships is not surprising since the basis of the Zimbabwean labour force, before Bantu slaves were brought in, was undoubtedly Hottentot.

If we consider what normally happened when the Bantu overthrew their enemies we can reconstruct what must have been the fate of Zimbabwe and similar defensively constructed towns. Either taken by surprise or starved out, all the males who could be caught would be speared, and the women and children would be taken and incorporated into their Bantu conquerors. This means in effect that the Karanga would have absorbed the mixed Hottentot-Bantu-Arab women and their children. If this conquest coincided with the chief of the conquerors rising to a paramountcy, after the first destruction they would probably have established some kind of capital in the way the Zulu kings did. This would in all likelihood be located near or even in one of the destroyed towns. Having incorporated into themselves some of the blood of the former occupants—particularly if any Bantu slaves who had learned to labour on building construction had revolted and assisted the attackers and therefore had not been put to death on the sacking of the place—and being surrounded with unlimited building material, it would be natural for them to try to build for themselves a new capital of dry-stone masonry. This would mark the birth of a Venda kingship, although for a time they would still be known as Karangas. If they made good their paramountcy, as the Karanga "Emperors" mentioned by the sixteenth century Portuguese clearly did, a doctrine of kingship would be built up. By the seventeenth century when the Karanga "Empire" tottered to its ruin the ruling elements would have held specific ideas on kingship. They would have become a royal caste to perpetuate these ideas, and the small Venda tribe of modern times would show characters indicating an ancestry from both the Karanga and the people of Zimbabwe.

There are ruins at Zimbabwe called the Ridge Ruins which are usually ascribed to the nineteenth century but only, perhaps, on the merest guesswork and to fit in with the tendency to date every-

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thing as late as possible, in reaction to the nineteenth century antiquarians who dated all the ruins to a far antiquity. If Zimbabwe was in fact the capital of the Karanga paramount chief whom the Portuguese came to know in about 1505, some such ruins as those should be considered as the likely site of the capital which was raised in the ruined town.

If we accept the evidence produced at Mapungubwe by Captain Gardner, at about the same time as the Karanga Bantu may have made their successful assault against Great Zimbabwe the Sothos did the same thing much further south at Mapungubwe. At this site there is evidence of developments parallel with those which seem to indicate the course of racial history at Zimbabwe. First of all, only skeletons of Hottentot type occur in the first phase at K.2, for which a date up to about 1000 has been assigned. In the second phase at K.2 evidence is found of the first intermixture of Bantu with the Hottentots, the date for which is given as between 1100 and 1250. Captain Gardner looks upon these Bantu as invaders but it seems much more probable that they were slaves, for had they been invaders the Hottentot survivors would probably have been a subordinate element. In the third phase, on the Hill, the mixed population had taken refuge on the summit of Mapungubwe. This period is dated between 1250 and 1300. This is quite consistent with the course of events suggested at Zimbabwe, the Arab dominated enterprises being under more and more pressure from the Bantu. Then in the fourth phase on the Hill, dated between 1300 and 1450, the Hill refuge was overrun by Bantu of Sotho characteristics. These dates agree perfectly with those which I have suggested for the raising of the bigger walls at Zimbabwe as the Bantu menace grew, and for the final collapse which could well have been around 1450.

Thus it looks as though the Karanga Bantu were attacking Great Zimbabwe while further south on the borders of South Africa the Sotho were attacking Mapungubwe. After this, in the fifth phase on the Hill, we find that Mapungubwe was overrun at some time between 1450 and 1750 by people of Venda stock. This is also consistent with the developments suggested for Zimbabwe. After the extension of the Karanga hegemony—or Karanga-Venda as I believe it was by this time—over all the Bantu in these parts, the Karanga-Venda power later collapsed. The Venda, as they may now be called, migrated to the south and on reaching the Limpopo they must have occupied Mapungubwe before settling in the northern parts of the Transvaal.

It is interesting that this migration to the south— if that is in fact what this phase at Mapungubwe represents—was followed in the sixth phase on the Hill by the re-occupation of the site by Hottentots. This suggests that the Bantu had not settled these

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regions at all by this time but had merely occupied strong points where they had overrun the mining communities, and during a time of Bantu weakness the Hottentots had been able to recapture this site.

The seventh phase on the Hill shows the complete desertion of Mapungubwe after 1800. Thereafter Sotho-speaking Bantu gradually occupied the region. As the Bantu did not occupy Mapungubwe after 1800 it is likely that the same thing happened at Zimbabwe, and if so the Ridge Ruins there are earlier than the nineteenth century to which they have been ascribed. By the nineteenth century we should expect the situation in all these places to be much the same as it is today: empty sites, and Bantu quite unrelated to the cultures formerly inhabiting these towns and forts, living in the neighbourhood and regarding them merely as features of the landscape—ruins, stone houses, built by someone they know not whom.

One of the interesting things about the Venda is that their language has connections with Sotho as well as with Karanga,[37] and this may well be due to their having absorbed Sotho elements when they took over Mapungubwe in the fifth phase, sometime between 1450 and 1750.

The most interesting of all tribal information which is still available to us is that presented by the Lemba. These are a people who live among the Venda. They form a distinct caste of traders and artificers, workers in metal. They do not farm, and they are not Bantu (Negroid) in their racial characters. In that they are dark-skinned they are Melanoids, but that is all, and they are no more Negroid than the Hamites. Their features are "Jewish"—that is, they are Semitic-Armenoid in type. Such traits can only have come from a limited number of sources, for instance Persian, Arab, Parsee or Jewish strains, and therefore they are intruders in the Negroid Bantu world. Moreover, they practise circumcision, which the Venda did not do originally, they slaughter their cattle —which they get by way of trade—by bleeding them to death in the Kosher manner, and they refuse to eat pork. Although they have no chiefs of their own they accept the Venda chiefs, but they do not speak Venda. They speak instead a dialect of Karanga, and like the Karanga and the Venda they play the Malay xylophone. They are entirely endogamous and refuse to intermarry outside their own people. The word they use for outsiders is *vhasenzi*, which is the same as *washenzi* used along the east coast of Africa for pagans, wild folk or barbarians.[38]

Since we have established at least a *prima facie* case for the Venda having arisen from the crossing of the Negroid conquerors

[37] N. J. van Warmelo, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[38] N. J. van Warmelo, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

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with the Bantuised Negroidised Hottentot helot population of Zimbabwe, and since the Lemba are part of their following and have all these racial traits and cultural characters, it seems almost inescapable that we must conclude that the Lemba are a surviving, purer remnant of some Caucasoid élite from the Zimbabwean civilisation. Their failure to maintain a white skin would no doubt be due to the fact that their women had been taken and used from time to time by the conquerors of Zimbabwe, and this would introduce a slight infusion of Negroid genes, the colour genes from amongst which would have survival and protective value and so would rapidly spread throughout the whole group, while assortative mating and different levels of innate intelligence would favour the segregation of the otherwise Caucasoid features and their retention as typical among the Lemba as a whole.

Throughout the Arab world there are and always were Jewish communities in whose hands a considerable part of the commerce rested, and it is possible that there were some of these Jewish traders in the small mining and trading posts of Rhodesia. However, the traders may well have been Arabs, since many Arab communities have Armenoid features. Furthermore there was a time in the fifth century A.D. when southern Arabia was under a Jewish dynasty at Saba, before Islam had been established. The last Jewish King of Saba was Du Nuwas, who was notorious for his persecution and massacre of Christians. His reign was ended by an Ethiopian invasion and after that Persia reduced the kingdom to a satrapy in the sixth century. These events could easily have forced Judaised Arabs overseas. Early Arab settlers could therefore have taken some of the principles of the Mosaic Code to East Africa. How the Lemba avoided extermination and absorption into the conquering Karanga-Venda is a mystery, but of course it could quite well have happened as there are usually some who escape a massacre.

I referred earlier to the Rotse who are said to have some idea of stone building and are thought by some to be related to the Venda. I also showed that there are indications of a similarity of the ground plans of the Rotse kraal and the Ambo kraal to that of Zimbabwe. All these peoples are known to have a high percentage of markedly Armenoid features.[39]

The occurrence of this Caucasoid blood in Southern Africa has to be accounted for. As it is markedly Armenoid it did not come from the Portuguese, Dutch or British. This only leaves the probability of Arab, Jewish or Persian origin, and of these the first is the most likely main source. This takes us directly to the Arab settlements on the eastern coast. But since some of these

[39] Raymond A. Dart, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

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tribes are strongly associated with Rhodesia, the Karanga, and even Mapungubwe, the obvious conclusion is that this White blood has come to them from the Arabs, who must have been the principal developers of Zimbabwe and similar stone built towns in Rhodesia.

There are also of course other tribes with some Caucasoid Armenoid features, such as the Zulus,[40] the Shona and the Tonga of northern Natal. Some of them have probably received these traits through the Venda-Rotse-Sotho-Lemba group, as all of these tribes had contact with Zimbabwe. But some, the Tonga of northern Natal for instance, may have received these characters through Arab blood filtering down the coast of Mozambique from Sofala and other Arab settlements.

In conclusion, it can be said that there is absolutely no evidence at all that Zimbabwe and the other similar sites were built by the Bantu, except as labourers. But it is equally certain that these settlements were overthrown by the Bantu invaders at some time just before the arrival of the Portuguese off the coast of Mozambique. It is also clear that the descendants of the amalgam which arose between the barbarian destroyers of the civilisation and the indigenous inhabitants, or perhaps mainly their slaves, are the Venda, associated with whom are the Lemba, who appear to share more of the blood of the original Arab or Semitic founders of the Zimbabwean complex. Any continuation of a stone building culture into more recent times among the Venda and their relatives is due to their absorption of some of the blood and the culture of those who were associated with Zimbabwe and similar settlements.

The collapse of the Zimbabwean culture can be attributed to the decline in the profitableness of the Rhodesian gold mines, the increasing pressure from the invading Bantu, and the decline of Arab communications with the far south along the east coast of Africa—which may have been partly due to the arrival of the Portuguese, at least in so far as this prevented the Arabs from re-establishing their hold over this region which was so rich in gold.

[40] See THE MANKIND QUARTERLY, Vol. III, No. 2, October-December 1962, p. 109, Fig. 19.

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Book Reviews

STUDIES IN GENETICS

By H. J. Muller. Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1962. Pp. 618, diagrams in text. Price $4.95.

Professor Muller is one of the outstanding names in the field of genetics, and this selection of papers written by him is of the utmost value. One can associate oneself at once with what Dr Joshua Lederberg writes in his Foreword:

> Students who, like myself, have not had the fortune to study with Muller will find this collection a special benefice. Contemporary science shouts the triumphs of specialized concentration and technical finesse; fewer of its pioneers can also claim the breadth of intellect that is displayed in these pages. It is not easy to find an original thought in biological theory that has not, in some way, been anticipated here—whether the topic be the ultramicroscopic gene, the fate of mankind on earth, or the cosmic origins of life.

These are great claims but they are in every way justified, and a valuable service has been performed by Indiana University Press in bringing out this large paperback at such a reasonable price.

The individual papers are grouped together under the following headings: "The Chromosome Basis of Heredity and Linkage," "Genotype-Phenotype Relations," "Gene Theory," "'Spontaneous' Gene Mutations," "Gene Mutations Induced by Radiation," "Chromosome Properties and Changes," "Heterochromatin," "Evolution," and "Human and General Genetics." There is also a list of works by H. J. Muller and a satisfactory index.

For many Part Nine, "Human and General Genetics," will be of the greatest interest. The first essay in this section is "Mental Traits and Heredity." In this he draws attention to the fact that from the evidence of one pair of identical twins studied intensively it was clear that intelligence tests showed a marked correlation with heredity, whereas the non-intellectual tests of motor reaction time, association time, and will-temperament, social attitudes, and so on, showed no marked association with the heredity.

In "The 'Geneticists' Manifesto'," which was drawn up at Edinburgh just preceding the outbreak of the last war and signed by H. J. Muller and other well known scientists, we read (pp. 546-547):

> But it must also be understood that the effect of the bettered environment is not a direct one of the germ cells and that the Lamarckian doctrine is fallacious, according to which the children of parents who have had better opportunities for physical and mental development inherit these improvements, biologically, and according to which in consequence, the dominant classes and peoples would have become genetically superior to the underprivileged ones. The intrinsic (genetic) characteristics of any generation can be better than those of the preceding generation only as a result of some kind of *selection, i.e.,* by those persons of the preceding generation who had a better genetic equipment having produced more offspring, on the whole, than the rest, either through conscious choice, or as an automatic result of the way in which they lived. Under modern civilized conditions such selection is far less likely to be automatic than under primitive

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conditions, hence some kind of conscious guidance of selection is called for.

Further on the Manifesto states (p. 547):

> A more widespread understanding of biological principles will bring with it the realization that much more than the prevention of genetic deterioration is to be sought for and that the raising of the level of the average of the population nearly to that of the highest now existing in isolated individuals, in regard to physical wellbeing, intelligence and temperamental qualities, is an achievement that would—so far as purely genetic considerations are concerned—be physically possible within a comparatively small number of generations.

That this was signed by Professor Muller is not surprising, but in view of pronouncements in more recent years (which, so far as man is concerned, have minimised such a logical genetic approach to what is after all race, as well as human improvement) from other quarters, it is interesting to notice that among the signatories are J. B. S. Haldane, J. S. Huxley, G. Dahlberg and Theodosius Dobzhansky. We have been inundated with declamations that human beings cannot be treated as a stud farm, and yet, when all is said and done, that is what in effect any form of manipulation of the conditions of reproduction amounts to (no matter what are the social safeguards) which prevents genetic deterioration and achieves genetic improvement. This was apparently the view of these scientists in 1939, whether they have modified their views since or not.

There is much enlightenment in this book which presents the work and views of Professor Muller in a comprehensive and valuable perspective.

R. Gayre of Gayre.

ISTANBUL AND THE CIVILIZATION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

By Bernard Lewis. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1963. Pp. 187. Price $2.75.

Bernard Lewis, an expert on Turkey and the Arab world, has studied at the Universities of London and Paris, and is Professor in the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London.

This first rate treatment of the subject gives a very good appreciation of the ethnological background of the Turkish or Ottoman Empire and how it arose, as well as of the diverse ethnic elements which it swept up within itself. Professor Lewis is to be congratulated on his excellent and concise exposition.

THE FRANK C. BROWN COLLECTION OF NORTH CAROLINA FOLKLORE: Popular Beliefs and Superstitions

Volume Seven, edited by Wayland D. Hand. Duke University Press, Durham, North Carolina: Cambridge University Press, London, 1964. Pp 677, 3 line drawings. Price $10.00: 80s.

At the title implies, this is part of the collection of folklore collected by Dr Frank C. Brown who, in 1913, organised the North Carolina Folklore Society. On his death in 1943 the considerable work of sorting and publishing this mass of information which had been collected fell upon Dr Newman I. White, since whose death in 1948 it has been continued by Paull F. Baum.

This volume, which is edited by Mr Wayland D. Hand, deals with popular superstitions from North Carolina, as well as popular beliefs

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connected with such subjects as death and funeral customs, witchcraft, ghosts, magical practices, cosmic phenomena (times, numbers and seasons), weather, animals, animal husbandry, fishing and hunting, plants, plant husbandry, and the like. The references are compiled comparatively, giving analogies and references to folk ideas in other parts of the United States.

This is certainly about as comprehensive a work in this field as will be found anywhere, and an indispensible source book for folklorists and social anthropologists. Here will be found the sources for "An owl hooting in the daytime is a sign of rain," or "If the new moon's horn is pointed up, it will be a dry moon."

Some of this material has analogies and parallels to similar ideas belonging to the Amerinds, and it would be a good thing to see some attempt made to set it out ethnologically—for folklore can be a valuable instrument for ethnological investigation.

LYNDON'S LEGACY: A CANDID LOOK AT THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY-MAKERS

By Frank L. Kluckhohn. Devin-Adair, New York, 1964. Pp. 335, 10 plates. Price $4.95.

This book, because of its political interest, would not come within the scope of a journal devoted to anthropological questions if it were not for certain allegations which it contains. For instance, on page 83 the author tells us that the Defense Department of America is using its vast budget to enforce integration and "curry favor" with the Negroes:

> Representative Wilson noted, in discussing Project 60, that one Wisconsin manufacturing firm was denied a defense contract because the firm employed no Negroes. The defense firm explained that no Negroes lived in the town, or for miles around.

The reply came back from the Defense Department: "Import some Negroes—if you want defense contracts."

On pages 93 and 94 the author quotes the Gesell Report as showing that Military Commanders have been ordered to break down any form of racial segregation—indeed it would seem actually to enforce integration—and that Negroes having complaints are to be encouraged to send them behind the backs of their commanders direct to the Defense Department. Furthermore, "The Gesell Report stipulates that the identity of the accuser remain anonymous, and that *the accused not be allowed to face his accuser.*"

If this is true, then it is astonishing how fundamental principles of law, justice and equity can be brushed aside in the pursuit of racial integration. Presumably those who have designed the report believe that *the end justifies the means.*

INDIANS OF SOUTHERN ILLINOIS

By Irvin M. Peithmann. Charles C. Thomas, Springfield, Illinois, 1964. Pp. 125, 43 plates. Price $6.50.

This is an account of the Indians of Southern Illinois and of their resistance to European encroachment and ultimate overthrow. It is, therefore, a useful account in that respect alone. But there are also many subjects of interest which come out of it. Among these are the facts that scalping was introduced by the Europeans in the first case, and that the Indians had slavery before the arrival of the Whites. Moreover, they had Negro slaves as well! It would seem that in every racial contact the Negro

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has been at some stage or another enslaved by the other stocks, whether these are White, Brown, Yellow or Red. Even in South-West Africa the black Berg Dama were enslaved but their masters, the yellow-skinned Hottentots, were not, although the Hottentots themselves had had to retreat before the pressure of numbers exerted by the constant invasion from the north of Bantu tribes.

Mr Peithmann traces over 10,000 years of Indian occupation from prehistoric times, and studies the languages and cultures of the peoples involved.

PEOPLE HAVE POWER: THE BACKWARD ART OF SELF-GOVERNMENT

By Dorothy Henderson. Harvest House, Montreal, 1964. Pp. 269. Price $2.50.

The publishers claim that this is a plain man or woman's "how-to-do-it" guide to effective participation in politics and community affairs, as well as a rich source of material for self-education. Comments and Questions have been added to the end of each chapter by David Smith, who is described as a "unique Canadian 'social engineer'."

This reference to social engineering is sufficient to let the reader see what may well be considered to be one of the principles actuating the authors.

In Chapter Nine the author claims (p. 81) that in the modern western home the mother is usually the leader! Presumably this is claimed for Canada and America. It is certainly not true for Europe.

Chapter Eight is sub-titled "You Can Change Human Nature." This statement is, presumably, demonstrated by showing (p. 73) how the Tarascan Amerindians had once been the centre of an important group which resisted Aztec domination, then as a result of the cruelty of the Spaniards they had been enslaved and their land turned to a desert, but now, under the work of the United Nations, rehabilitation is taking place. But how this in fact proves that human nature is being changed one fails to see. A formerly powerful tribe which declined because of the Spanish conquest and exploitation could well be improved by any agency which began to bring the elements of a new economy, whether by way of industries or afforestation. Nevertheless the *nature* of the people would be in no way changed. The reasoning and judgements in this book, as this instance will show, are very shallow. It is the epitomy of the lines of reasoning of so many of those engaged in social uplift who have in our day taken the place of the missionaries of former times—but who usually lack the experience and deeper knowledge which the missionaries possessed through living all their lives with the people they were serving. Social well-being and charity are good things, but they are best when applied by people who know the full implications of what they are doing and are not deluded by optimistic Utopian doctrines which falsely claim changes which in fact do not occur. Here we see a confusion between cultural change and change in nature.

BEHIND MUD WALLS 1930-1960

By William and Charlotte Wiser. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles: Cambridge University Press, London, 1964. Pp. 249. Price $5.00 : 40s.

This is a very useful book, and the praise given to the authors by Dr David G. Mandelbaum in his Foreword is quite justified. Dr Wiser's death in 1961 was a loss, but fortunately his widow has had the courage

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to finish the original book with her own story for the end of the period. The reviewer had the opportunity of meeting both authors in Kotagiri in 1956, and so it has been with somewhat of a shock that he has learnt from the pages of the book of the death of Dr Wiser.

Dr Wiser and his wife were missionaries who went to India in 1930 and began work in Karimpur, a village east of Agra, which they have taken as typical of India, and it certainly is. Indeed the real India is that of the villages and not of the great cities like Delhi, Bombay and Calcutta. They were faced immediately with the fact that a predecessor had converted some "sweepers" and these were the only allegedly "Christian" villagers. Their men-folk kept the pigs which scavenged the human excrement every morning (for the Indian villager goes out from his abode and uses the open spaces for his call of nature) and their women-folk acted as the "sanitary orderlies" to the women in purdah who cannot wander outside into the countryside for the same purpose. Consequently the status of Christian in such a village was the lowest possible. Furthermore, the conversions, one suspects, were largely moved by the chance of gain from the patronage of the missionary.

This is a story which is all too common all over northern India. It is only in the south that there is a substantial Christian middle and upper class. In the south the original Jesuit and other missionaries, from Portugal and elsewhere, set out to convert the Brahmins and the leaders of society, even adopting the caste customs of the Brahmins to do so. The result is that the Christians in the South of India are an advanced and literate class of society.

The pages of this book bring out forceably the idleness of the Bhangi ("sweeper") caste as a whole, and their general lack of desire to improve themselves—which is not really surprising as they are the result of genetic selection as much as are the Brahmin (priest) and the Rajput (soldier) castes at the other end of the social scale.

There is no doubt of the good work the Wisers did in this village, setting many on the way to better things. Mrs Wiser speaks well of the Indian Government's measures for uplift in the villages, of which the reviewer has seen something himself when working in India. But, reluctantly, it is admitted that despite all the attempts to stamp out the wide caste differences and the untouchability of the sweepers and others, this has hardly been achieved. Governments may legislate against social segregation, but laws will not end it. The fact remains that these caste differences run deep. They are social and religious, but—and this is usually overlooked—they run much deeper, for they are also genetic: indeed they often represent more than just genetic segregations, for they are generally racial as well. The upper castes represent the original Caucasoid conquerors of India and the untouchables the dark aborigines they conquered. Caste has merely given social and religious sanction for segregation of already existent genetic and racial differences.

Mrs Wiser draws attention to the fact that, as is well known, the Government of India, on behalf of the Scheduled Castes (that is, the Untouchables, Tribals and others at the bottom of or below the caste level), has brought in legislation which favours them in government appointments even with lower standards of education and achievement. Humanitarian as this undoubtedly is, and to the humane credit of the government, it is contrary to reason if they wish to see the continued advancement of their country, for it can only lead to a lowering of standards and, often enough, the placing in responsible positions of persons who are less than the most able.

Behind Mud Walls is well worth reading and is a very useful contribution to the study of racial and social affairs in India today.

R. GAYRE OF GAYRE.

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